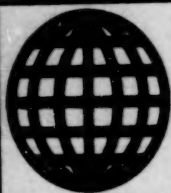


JPRS-EER-89-011  
2 FEBRUARY 1989



FOREIGN  
BROADCAST  
INFORMATION  
SERVICE

---

# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Europe**

---

# East Europe

JPRS-EER-89-011

## CONTENTS

2 FEBRUARY 1989

### POLITICAL

#### POLAND

Opinions on Office of Presidency Presented [RZECZPOSPOLITA 17 Oct]	1
Osmanczyk Accuses Rakowski of Confusing Reality, Ideological Mythology [RZECZPOSPOLITA 21 Oct]	2
Machejek Commentaries on October Events, Rakowski Government	5
Rakowski's Government, Reform Program [ZYCIE LITERACKIE 23 Oct]	5
Papal Anniversary, Sejm, Housing [ZYCIE LITERACKIE 16 Oct]	7
Oppositionist Council President on Local Politics, Credibility [PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY 6 Nov]	7
Study Supports Place for Opposition Within Political Structure [TRYBUNA LUDU 20 Oct]	10
PZPR Voivodship Plenums: Focus on Taxes, Social Benefits, Leadership	13
Leadership Problems Discussed [TRYBUNA LUDU 1-2 Oct]	13
Bialystok on Complaints Issues [TRYBUNA LUDU 10 Oct]	13
Food-Processing Taxes Attacked [TRYBUNA LUDU 24 Oct]	14
Areas of Neglect Noted [TRYBUNA LUDU 24 Oct]	14
Competitive Market Discussion [TRYBUNA LUDU 25 Oct]	15
Rural Social, Economic Issues [TRYBUNA LUDU 28 Oct]	15
Conflict of Interest Between Party, Nation Viewed [PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI 16 Oct]	16
Orzechowski Visit to USSR Stresses Ideology, Education Cooperation [RZECZPOSPOLITA 17 Oct]	18
Gdansk PZPR Workplace Leader on Party's Status, Needed Changes [POLITYKA 12 Nov]	18
Miners' Efforts To Obtain Work Reinstatement, Solidarity Support [PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY 6 Nov]	20
Stalowa Wola: Solidarity Registration Remains Key Issue [POLITYKA 15 Oct]	22
Sejm Delegate Views Chances for, Nature of, Second Chamber [RZECZPOSPOLITA 18 Oct]	24
Sejm Self-Management Chamber Debated [TRYBUNA LUDU 26 Oct]	26
Catholic Weekly Sponsors 'Blank Spots' Competition [GOSC NIEDZIELNY 25 Sep]	26
Church Representative Responds to Queries on Association Law [RZECZPOSPOLITA 7 Nov]	27
Ethnic Minorities Seek Roundtable Voice [TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY 30 Oct]	28
Reporting on Kurapaty, Nationalities of Victims Raised [POLITYKA 29 Oct]	28

### ECONOMIC

#### POLAND

Resolution, Publication of Amended Law on Wages [DZIENNIK USTAW 24 Aug]	32
Debate Regarding State Farm Land, Taxes Continues [TRYBUNA LUDU 17 Oct]	38
Solco-Basel SA Director on Production Goals, Entering Polish Market [ZYCIE WARSZAWY 7 Oct]	39
ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE Briefs Columns [ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE 9-30 Oct]	41

## POLAND

**Opinions on Office of Presidency Presented**  
26000177 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
17 Oct 88 p 3

[Excerpts of views of Mieczyslaw Lesniak, secretary of the Democratic Party Central Committee; Kazimierz Fortuna, secretary of the Supreme Committee of the United People's Party; Witkor Leyk, vice chairman of the Christian Social Union; and Zbigniew Czajkowski, vice chairman of the PAX Association, by Janusz Trylinski: "The Presidential System—What Sort Should It Be?"]

[Excerpts] One of the many proposals for changes in the political system has been the Democratic Party's idea of establishing a state presidency. At this time, there of several versions of the presidential system in the world and the most popular ones are different variants of the French and American systems. Among the socialist countries, Czechoslovakia and Rumania have presidents.

What should be the role of a president in Poland and how would that office be situated in our social and political structure. We asked representatives of several groups.

*Mieczyslaw Lesniak:* For years, we have continued to propose the creation of a Presidency of Poland and we included this proposal in the resolutions of our 12th and 13th congresses. However, only recently have the conditions been more favorable.

The enormous instability and numerous social conflicts of recent years indicate the need for such an office. We need a seat of power with strong authority and that enjoys the respect of the public. This office must stand above politics and the ulterior motives of the people and state. The president must function as an arbiter in disputes between the government and social organizations, resolve social and political conflicts, be a spokesman for national interests and defend the democratic rights and liberties of our citizens.

There are many possibilities and concepts for the presidency. They could range from merely cosmetic functions such as chairman of the Council of State to the introduction of a full presidential system which would require general changes in our form of government. We can look at the presidencies of France, Finland or even of our neighbors like Czechoslovakia. But we want to do more than just copy other systems, no matter how well they might work. We also cannot copy the form of presidency Poland had before World War II or from the end of the war to 1952. We must look at both the good and bad sides of our experience and find the form of presidency that would meet the actual political and economic needs of our state and people and would also define the direction our people want the country to take.

There are many problems and it is hard to briefly mention them all. I would therefore like to just outline what relationship the president should have to the Sejm, Council of State, the political parties, the Constitutional Tribunal and Tribunal of State, the government and to social and union organizations. I would also like to define his influence over legislation, the extent of his executive powers and his role as head of state and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. If the president is to be given real powers, we must be sure that those powers are subject to the democratic control of the people represented by the Sejm. The existence of an office of the presidency cannot in any way cast doubt on the sovereignty of the people or on popular rule.

The president's position and effective power will be determined by whoever appoints or elects him. There are several possibilities. A candidate or candidates can be nominated by the Sejm, the political parties or PRON and can then be chosen in national elections, by a vote of the Sejm or by both houses of parliament (if a second house is created). Another important consideration is the term of office or how many consecutive terms a president can serve.

All of these issues must be closely examined with the help of experts, specialists and political scientists and then the concrete proposals should be discussed and voted on by the public. This is not an easy matter to arrange and will take a lot of time and patience. As I have indicated, the introduction of an office of the presidency would require substantial constitutional changes regardless of the form of that office.

Our party is also working on proposals for this office and we will present them to the public. What I have said reflects my own beliefs about the presidency.

*Kazimierz Fortuna:* [passage omitted] I cited fragments of our party's position because they define not only its basic thought on the matter but also attest to the state of the ZSL's work on this issue and its readiness to be presented on a broader forum. After all, one cannot abstract an individual but immeasurably valuable proposal from the need for all-encompassing social and political changes guaranteed by a new constitution. Work on individual solutions will also help develop the correct standards for the constitution of a socialist state.

I think that the proposal for an office of the presidency is a very important one given the present political situation in our country. The new form of government we are preparing is based on a broad coalition of patriotic forces. Dialogue with everyone who wish the best for our country must be more than just a political gesture. It must be a lasting element of our development.

In many cases, a political compromise will most certainly be worked out in an atmosphere of open and direct discussion. We cannot leave ourselves open to the danger of political impotence. Therefore, in our public life we



need an authority of the highest measure, a state mediator, a unifying figure to whom we can appeal. I think that this political and moral authority should be the president, the head of state. Not only must a president represent Poland on the outside and be a tradition of our state but he must also really participate in the internal life of the nation and be universally respected as the voice of national interest. I see the establishment of a presidency as an element in the building and consolidation of national reconciliation and agreement and a means of uniting people of different political views and orientation. [passage omitted]

*Wiktor Leyk:* [passage omitted] Do we need a president and what prerogatives will he be given? I think it would be a mere technicality to give him the powers now held by the Council of State and therefore not worth the trouble of creating an office of the president to begin with. However, if the president were given greater powers, this could be a means of rebuilding the entire model of the supreme organs of state. Given our tendency for excessive consultation with everyone about everything, I fear that it will take a long time to define the office and time is something that we cannot afford now. If we decide to create a presidency (an office that has a very short tradition in Poland) not as a representative office but as that of a head of state with real executive powers, we should let experts decide the form of that office. Proposals should consider the experiences of other countries and then be discussed by representatives of the country's main political forces. This is the only way the idea can be supported by our state's system of government.

*Zbigniew Czajkowski:* [passage omitted] In PAX, most of us are in favor of restoring the presidency because this is an institution that already has some degree of tradition in Poland as it was introduced after we gained our independence in 1921 and lasted until 1952.

The presidency's powers, prerogatives and manner of election, should be stated in the Constitution. I also think that we cannot just introduce an office of the presidency without making other changes to the entire system of government. What I mean is that we will eventually need another house of parliament and broader principles for political coalitions. Only then would the president be able to become a person of great moral and political authority, be universally accepted and respected, fulfill the role of mediator and resolve conflicts. The conflict of views and opinions would take place on the forum of the Sejm. If no compromise or agreement could be reached in the Sejm, the dispute would be passed on to the other house of parliament, the Senate. The third and final resort for a decision would be the president. In conclusion, I would like to add that I think that we should not expect this change in government before 1991, the 200th anniversary of the May Constitution, but we should work on the problem as fast and as prudently as we can.

### **Osmanczyk Accuses Rakowski of Confusing Reality, Ideological Mythology**

26000175 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
21 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by Edmund Jan Osmanczyk: "An Open Letter to the New Prime Minister"]

[Text]

RZECZPOSPOLITA, 18 October 1988

Dear Mr Prime Minister!

May I request that what is at present your newspaper, RZECZPOSPOLITA, be open to the publication of objective and concise opinions by citizens having different views on the issues currently being resolved by you. The reason is not to engage you in verbal polemics but simply to make it public that you and the society are familiar with the existence of different solutions.

It seems to me that the accessibility of a government newspaper to views by private citizens would be a concrete and...consistent contribution to the recovery of political culture in our country.

This of course requires firm rules of the game—no emotional appeals but only detached consideration of differing views.

We must therefore accept that two aspects are natural in every system of society:

1. The government's policy is always but one of many possible forms of implementing the principles of the system of society. Criticism of the government's policy may therefore derive from differing interests of the groups supporting the system of society or from disputes about longrange views of a country's development prospects.

2. In every system of society there exist groupings whose philosophies are such that in principle they dissent from the existing political system. As a rule, a majority of that opposition is contented with the right to freely proclaim its beliefs, while a minority organizes itself for the purpose of overthrowing the existing system by force, or it presupposes the inevitability of such a change alone in the country's fate. If the influence of the fatalists—that being a better appellation than the devalued term "extremists"—is increasing, this means a perilous growth of the public's mood of desperation. Its well-springs may be economic or political or both.

I personally perceive that the number of supporters of the rational evolutionary path is growing, and in my opinion this is due to the first Polish pope as well as to the world's first worker to have received the Nobel Peace Prize [Walesa]. Desperation did not win, but it could have. Let us all wish that it may never menace our existence.



Following this necessary preface I wish to submit for consideration by you, Mr Prime Minister, and by the civic society three crucial issues omitted in your declaration on the strategy for mobilizing the society for the common cause of restoring the health of the Republic.

I am deeply disturbed by the confusion of realism with the ideological mythology of the past era as revealed in your declaration. You perceive acutely that the new era is imposing on all the regions and systems of society in the world the necessity of exploring their own new models of the societal life of all nations in peace and freedom. Within your circle and on the international forum. At the same time you warn the Polish society that you shall defend a mythical "socialist state" by the force of arms of the army, the security service, and the government apparatus.

You want to build a new model of the socialist state, yet you are threatening the adversaries of the old model.

A week ago RZECZPOSPOLITA disputed my thesis that it is no accident that the Gdansk, Szczecin, and Jastrzebie agreements did not include the word "socialism," and it pointed out that that word is present in the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Constitution. But that was a purely legalistic formulation pertaining to the dispute about the techniques of ruling the state and the right of the laboring masses to control the enterprises.

There had been at the time no other formula than that which the Sejm had to vote in 1952. For such was the turn of fate at the time.

But now in 1988 that urn with the ashes of Stalin and Bierut is not a national relic and cannot be viewed as the foundation of a mythical "socialist state."

After all, a government newspaper cannot base its arguments on the PRL Constitution which your government wants to amend to the Constitution of the RP [Polish Republic], that is, one consonant with the national tradition and replacing a government by a 15-member Council of State with a president and two chambers—the Sejm and the Senate.

The civic opposition is not combatting the PRL Constitution, which has died a natural death, and there is no point to it anyway, considering that the new Sejm will vote the PR Constitution. Instead, the civic opposition desires to codecide with the government forces on the nature of this new constitution, which both forces were not allowed to do in 1952 when even the style of writing had been decided by the directives of the Linguist [Stalin].

Another confusion of realism with mythology in your declaration is represented by your interpretation of the refusal of three nonparty citizens to take a decorative rather than decisionmaking part in your government.

The fate of the nonparty deputy prime minister who had lacked substantive power in the Administration of your predecessor offers sufficient warning against political suicide.

You did not ask them to cogovern on the grounds that they do not represent any organized forces or their own centers for mass contacts with the society. In reality, they were to relieve you and your allies of the burden of total responsibility of the government for what it is doing. Let the nonparty individuals, if they are devoted patriots, shoulder at least part of the responsibility. Responsibility for what? For the past? For the present? For the unknown future?

The delegalization of Solidarity, the SDP [Polish Journalists Union], the PEN Club, and so many other organizations and associations in 1982 was, in my opinion, the greatest political mistake whose consequences are felt to this day. I have mentioned this in the Sejm. Warnings against this measure were offered by the Administration in which you had acted as deputy prime minister, by Chairman of the Economic Council Professor Jan Szczepanski, and, on the part of the Democratic Party, by Professor Jan Janowski, Professor Dorota Simonides, and several other deputies. It cannot be said of any of us that we formed an antisocialist grouping; the only thing that united us was a critical view of the model of socialism anno 1982.

The paradox of the present situation consists in that neither Solidarity, nor the The SD [Democratic Party], nor dozens of other delegalized groupings or groupings whose legalization was refused, demand that the government share power with them. On the other hand, they are ready to accept part of the responsibility for the country's fate provided that they are granted three authentically guaranteed rights: legal operation, use of their own mass media for contacting the society, and partnership in all the bodies controlling the government. This is neither a minimum nor a maximum of demands. This is the sole realistic historic *modus vivendi*, to which the imprecise and mythmaking appellation of "Historic Compromise" is again being applied.

The personal concern to us both, Mr Prime Minister. This concerns Polish journalism, a field in which both you and I have been participating. I somewhat longer than you, but which you have worked in sufficiently long for you to understand my right to pose this issue and for me to appreciate the role which your policy as a publicist for POLITYKA had played in your having attained the post of the government prime minister.

"Noblesse oblige." It also obliges you to repair the damage and injustice caused to at least 2,000 journalists in the nearly 8 years [since the rise of Solidarity and the imposition of martial law].

No other professional group has paid percentagewise such a high price for its commitment to a social movement: loss of jobs, imprisonment, repressions, fines. The party myth since 1956, namely, that "the press is to blame for everything," has again become an expression of "realpolitik."

This time the blow was mortal. A man who is now a New Yorker [Stefan Olszewski] but who at the time used to be the propaganda secretary had delegatized the SDP by means of a martial law decree and lawlessly confiscated all the assets jointly accumulated by the members of the SDP.

A symbol of the protest of our journalistic community was the departure of the Circle of SDP Seniors, both party and nonparty members, headed by the founder of ZYCIE WARSZAWY Henryk Korotynski, from the building on Foksal Street [the House of the Journalist]. The authorities are tacitly ignoring our public meetings but do not permit us to have a permanent address for our meetings with invited guests.

As a senior Polish journalist, let me ask you as a fellow publicist who is now in power, what do you intend to do about this situation so unjust to your fellow journalists?

I know, and you know it, too, that these journalists demand neither the dissolution of the [regime-sponsored] SD PRL [Journalists' Union, Polish People's Republic] nor the return of the house on Foksal Street. What we demand instead is restoring the right of our SDP to exist and allowing us to establish our own workplaces. We shall not reach any "agreement" with the SD PRL, because an agreement can be reached only between equals in rights and assets.

Thus, just as before, this concerns institutionalized partnership. In this case, the issue is to relegalize the SDP and grant our members access to radio programming, to a free-market rather than government-controlled supply of newsprint, and the freedom to establish dailies, periodicals, and publishing houses.

I personally believe that inasmuch as in addition to the press representing the government groupings there also exists the government-sponsored RZECZPOSPOLITA, therefore there also should exist a newspaper of the civic opposition in addition to the press representing discrete opposition groupings. It could be published by the SDP once its rights are restored. I also propose the name of that newspaper, a name implying a principled objectivity—KRONIKA POLSKI I SWIATA [Chronicle of Poland and the World].

A common feature of the entire press should be providing a model of moderation and objectivity of information. The press also should help promote understanding the entire richness of our explorations of a new model and our political culture by Poles in this country and abroad as well as by foreign observers interested in a dispassionate view of our issues.

For the present, my comments in the discussion on the pages of WIEZ as to whether a political culture can be developed in this country were in their entirety confiscated on the eve of—let me state it loyally—the approval of your nomination to the post of prime minister of the government.

The last issue also concerns the strategy of mobilizing the national energies needed to restore the health of the Republic, namely, building a bridge linking us to Polish emigres who, when their numbers are included, make us one of the world's nations of 50 million.

You stated in your declaration that you favor "complete normalization of relations between Poland and the emigres." You omitted to mention, however, both in your declaration and at your press conference, a postulate of mine that is familiar to you and toward which, you had assured me, you are positively disposed:

"As a Pole who has been devoting himself wholeheartedly to this country and to the emigres, I believe moreover that the Polish-language radio stations in Munich, Paris, London, and Washington should immediately, within the next 2 weeks, assign permanent correspondents to the government of the new prime minister so as to be able to freely transmit the voice of the free society from Warsaw. I demand for my compatriots abroad the same right as that enjoyed by Russia, American, French, or Japanese journalists."

As you know, your declaration met with a negative response among the opinionmaking centers of emigres. Being familiar with these centers, I am aware that your credibility has been undermined by this confusion of realism with myths.

I claim that, just as we shall not mobilize the society for restoring the health of the Republic unless legal status is restored to civic forces, so we shall not regain any substantial international standing for our country without [the support of] the emigres, with whom liaison was deliberately disrupted by Stalin-Bierut.

These two deficiencies deriving from the bad postwar years and the bad year 1982 are handicapping our entire country.

May you be the first prime minister to move from the spot these two boulders of discord.

I wish you sufficient will and strength. I wish that this letter may help you to some extent by being published in RZECZPOSPOLITA.

Greetings from a fellow journalist,

Edmund Jan Osmanczyk

FROM THE EDITORS: Our newspaper was, is, and shall remain open to opinions expressed by citizens on all issues important to the Republic. It also seems to us that an open curtain in a government newspaper, such as we are practicing, is something very important to rebuilding political culture, but this indeed requires solid rules of the game, dispassionate discussion, and respect for the principles of our system of society.

### **Machejek Commentaries on October Events, Rakowski Government**

**Rakowski's Government, Reform Program**  
26000155 Krakow ZYCIE LITERACKIE in Polish  
No 43, 23 Oct 88 pp 1-2

[Editorial by Wladyslaw Machejek: "Shall We Help?"]

[Text] I hardly mean to refer to the events of 18 years ago when, following the December tragedy [massacre of workers], the First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee had asked at the Warski Shipyard, "Will you help?" I am not making a comparison but, yes, I wish to discuss coordination of the tasks that should be accomplished in connection with the Sejm declaration of Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski. The government is to make possible a systematic venting of social and production energies that had been suppressed for years. Suppressed? This rather surprised me. Because, when all is said and done, not every member of the "workers' nation" is dissatisfied by the absence of proper management and direction. And some of them have been and still are very willing to avail themselves of the opportunity allegedly once recommended by Leonid Brezhnev: "Two sacks for the employer and one sack aside, for oneself" [i.e., pilferage], and I do not believe that Rakowski's penetrating speech has discouraged them from doing so. But such an approach, too, would be hardly the worst, since it would encourage intensified effort; to be sure, that would be dividing loot among thieves, but in nature nothing is wasted, and so this concerns avoiding waste. But even so there would not be enough for an equitable distribution. Suppressed energy—a term borrowed from OPZZ [National Trade Union Alliance] leader Alfred Miodowicz—means rather energy that is unutilized and above all unorganized, unextracted. In my opinion, Prime Minister Rakowski stressed the need to clear the Polish soil of weeds and to plow fallow lands. Such concepts are not alien to a peasant's son. The Polish society can do more and, in its turn, demand more.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski does not want to renew anything, not even socialism. He is not using this catchword, which has been depreciated by time, because what is bad should simply be discarded and replaced with new tools.

I remember how years ago he and I had engaged in so many polemics, in periodicals and by correspondence. In 1968, too, when he had been editor in chief of POLITYKA. His stance at that time—let's call it one of

restraint—ultimately helped him and may still help him for a long time. He did not want to be Mieczyslaw the Renewer and instead he wanted to straighten out crooked Polish paths. Such was the gist of his book on the decade.

It is necessary to act rapidly but upon properly reconnoitering the terrain, that is, astutely. No one guarantees that by now once and for all the climate will not be favorable to periods of turmoil. The working class interprets success variously. Above all, we are sensitized to inflation and hence the prediction of a halt to that killing morass was received favorably.

The baggage carried by Mieczyslaw Rakowski on becoming prime minister is light. He is not unknown in the West nor in the East. But is this really good? Certain prime ministers got to be really known only after they had reached their Olympian status. Too much good and too little evil is expected of someone already known. But thou shalt know him only by his deeds. He is thought to be a liberal, but in an interpretation different from that current in bourgeois democracy. Of a certainty he desires to consult others a great deal and even share power, a power which should be sufficiently great unless he listens daily to instructions from the "White House" [Jaruzelski] but not as great as that wielded by the "Iron Lady," Margaret Thatcher, whom Poland shall soon host and with whom Prime Minister Rakowski will talk on various topics.

As for power, discrete representatives of the so-called constructive opposition have refused participating in Rakowski's government. My impression is that the reason was not the name or the person of the new prime minister; they are not dumbbells.... It is good to have power, people say, but then one has also to accept the odium falling on fortune's favorite, and that hurts; that would hurt all the more if one were to fall off Rakowski's "high horse." Mieczyslaw Rakowski wants to act from on high, and eventually to retire from on high.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski has inherited or rather taken over a difficult and tangled legacy. His prime ministership is the most difficult ever since the end of World War II. The working class is in an upheaval and the intelligentsia and science and culture are being undervalued. One of the new prime minister's utterances included warm words for his predecessor. It may be that by announcing at the same time that he is going to keep the public regularly briefed about his actions and efforts at governance, the prime minister desires to enlarge the number of those sharing in not only the good but also the bad.

We understand that Mieczyslaw Rakowski has good publicity in the West. But that "good" is laced with a bit of astonishment, as it were. Aha, apparently none of the competent economists could be entrusted with the mission of governance, and therefore a journalist, the ideologist secretary of the party Central Committee, was chosen. By thus zigzagging they fall into their own traps,



because the new prime minister has been discussing the economy and the reform of certain estates in our system more than anything else. The system can be reformed. It is a fact that we have not yet worked out a theory of reforms under socialism, and that is why socialism is so vaguely conceived by people, and it also is a fact that we do not know how to manage the state sector properly by means of economic instruments. But the declaration by the new prime minister and the appointment of new ministers of state taken directly from real life rather than from academe, although having a specialist educational background, carry the clear message that the government does not have to "swing in step" with the party. The proof is precisely the dozen new names in government, new in the sense that they do not come from the handful that had been playing the game of musical chairs. Rakowski declared at the beginning of his "reign" that he would be concerned chiefly for the food basket of the working people, that is, for enough food on their tables. He said it just like that, without promising pie in the sky. This can be accomplished by doing away with high prices, by halting the wage-price spiral. Perhaps a temporary price freeze would be of use? So as to investigate the causes of these price hikes. The announcement by the prime minister to the Sejm is a program, or even only a project, whereas the society desires positive facts.

The new government will endeavor to:

- not waste any physical or intellectual efforts of individuals;
- persistently demolish barriers and impediments to creative action;
- create the conditions for individual initiative and resourcefulness;
- limit to a minimum various restrictions from the top which represent make-believe activity;
- reject the passivity of those who say that nothing can be done;
- enable every honest man to influence the affairs of his workplace and ward as well as local and national authorities.

So that the plates on the table of the average man, of the Polish family, may not be empty.... That is why Prime Minister Rakowski gave top priority to agriculture, which provides food. The "green light" has often been black and white. In some Krakow daily I read that sacks of unsold artificial fertilizers, the stuff known to be needed to increase crop output, were piling up in the warehouses of rural-township cooperatives. Whatever their nature, it is certain that all fertilizers cost too much, and the decried price hikes for farm products supposed to compensate for that cost were a sham measure. The new prime minister would demolish many barriers by acting on the principle that, even before the big-industry

lobby of certain barons of industry is broken up, the prices of artificial fertilizers and farm machinery and implements should be reduced. They are twice as high, in relation to the prices of farm products, as before the war. And yet, complaints about the "cursed Situation" [pre-war Polish government] still persist. The second priority set by the new prime minister is housing construction. As I wrote before in this column, no one is satisfied with shortening the waiting period for new housing by newlyweds to 16 or 15 years—here and there. Industry should be within a few years geared to new housing and its furnishings. We wish that Mieczyslaw Rakowski could within a few years announce that newlyweds, and the more so young couples with children, will have to wait only 4 or 5 years for housing of their own.

One time I was returning by car from Miechow and enroute I stopped by at the Smok Tavern in Slomniki for a bite. To be sure, that bite was very expensive and so-so. As I was eating, I heard one waitress say to another, "Turn on the TV. Maybe we shall see something interesting." The other waitress replied, "What for? We will again hear Rakowski."

I asked, "You don't like Rakowski? Why?"

"What about yourself? Aren't you somewhat famous for having quarreled with him?"

"So what?"

"What do you mean, 'So what'? You like him?"

"What are you talking about? He is not a girl."

"Then why?"

I hesitated, then told them a tale about a newly emerged politician who knows what he wants. Will he accomplish the objectives he proclaims? He has appealed for help in the struggle against indifference and impotence. He has appealed for creating conditions in which people would look for jobs instead of jobs looking for people as is happening in reality. It may be that we shall succeed in getting something [some capital] abroad in order to modernize Polish industry above all; to youth a modernizing Poland will be a Poland of career prospects. But no one should gripe that supposedly nothing has been done for years. The foundations have been laid. All that is needed is restructuring. An alliance with the world of work is needed. Miodowicz [the OPZZ (National Trade Union Alliance) leader] said that the OPZZ's program can be neither pro- nor anti-government. Rakowski's speech cited the Primate Jozef Cardinal Glemp as saying, "We all are fed up with waiting; let's work together and influence the reality. Joint effort is needed."

Do I say that Rakowski has gained the church's support?

Finally, the waitresses sighed, "If he is so determined, perhaps he can restore the 'powiats' [former administrative

division of Poland into powiats or counties]. Krakow Voivodship at present is so tiny. Everyone wants the powiats back.

"He should. Once he gets a firmer grip," I murmured.

**Papal Anniversary, Sejm, Housing**  
26000155 Krakow ZYCIE LITERACKIE in Polish  
No 42, 16 Oct 88 p 1

[Editorial by Wladyslaw Machejek: "From My Observatory"]

[Text] The weather in the south of Poland is such that homemakers are canning fruits and vegetables for the winter, but the political and social problems are not as easy to handle, because they are largely hidden, like roots reaching deep down into earth. This is precisely what often happens at the parting—not forever—of two persons.... "I still had something to say, but I will save it for the next time." But the next meeting has the same ending. I feel drawn to comparisons of this kind when thinking of potential chances of the Roundtable [negotiations between the regime and the opposition]. I think that the Roundtable may act like an umbrella to various and constantly proliferating consultative bodies and taskforces.

In general, in recent years we have been sick with the disease of trumpeting sloganitis and declarationitis in the absence of effective deeds. But just consider the hard work of peasants and the results they get when they are freed from outside control and oversight. All they need is technical assistance. Besides it is the state's duty to feed the society better. Nevertheless, I believe that the Roundtable may prove useful and I view it rather as a table that can be lengthened, so to speak, because problems cannot all at once be settled, and besides new problems always arise. That march toward the horizon—like the march toward socialism—is such that the closer it gets to the horizon the farther the horizon recedes. And if it is split up into segments, people stray and know not in what direction and with whom to go. That is why it will be more practical when linked to the possibilities of the new government. Prime Minister Rakowski is showing unusual assiduity in asking for advice and views on the new government. Does this mean that he is asking about its composition too? I am not so naive as to suspect Rakowski even now of lacking an overall concept. I do not know whether the Sejm will be satisfied by the composition of the new government, since rumors about new appointments circulate daily and it is alleged that some people decline them, others accept them, and still others are thinking them over. I am convinced that the appointments have already been decided upon, although not signed yet. But the society is interested above all in the program of the new government. I can see that few people are naive enough to expect a marked improvement in the quality of life in Poland overnight, and Rakowski himself, even before he had become prime minister, questioned a situation in which people have to spend so much time and effort in order to find toilet paper, cottonwool, detergents, and school notebooks. Trolleys are

following irregular schedules, and amazing price hikes occur day after day. My impression is that Rakowski's prime ministership will not end with the elections to the Sejm in the fall of 1989, and one wishes to believe that this period would be sufficient for eliminating or at least alleviating the most vexatious problems of quotidian life, but Rakowski's duty—and he is not deficient in ambition—should be to outline the principal priority directions of development of our economy and of our investments for many years ahead.

The most urgent problem appears to be housing construction. The triumphant announcements by such and such voivodship governors that the waiting period for housing will decrease to 16 or 18 years from 20 years can be compared to using a prickly nettle to pat a vicious dog. This is supposed to be good for rheumatism, but certainly not for the rheumatism of the society. In reality our entire economy should be systematically geared to the needs of housing construction. This means not only bricks, hollow tiles, lime, and roofing materials, but also the entire infrastructure! Announcing 3-4 years hence that the waiting period of newlyweds for housing will be shortened to 4-6 years would be a major accomplishment. This kind of direction and accomplishments may be termed the material [materialization of] idea in the era of the transformation of socialism. In this connection also increasing the proportion of efficiency apartments for pensioners should be considered, so that they would give up premises (chiefly in old housing stock) that are as spacious as riding-school barns. People are talking about various happenings in Romania (with which the undersigned is not enthused), but experts on the subject claim that in that country there is no housing problem for young couples with children. The impulse to economize on space is certainly stimulated when one's family gains new members in the same tight little dwelling. And of course the second priority is the agricultural and food-processing industry.

While watching television and reading the newspapers I have more than once pondered the news that Bishop Majdanski of Szczecin was received by Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski. Is it meant to emphasize that Poland begins with Szczecin? Well, I would like to read the article by Edmund Osmanczyk about our relations with our neighbor the GDR.

**Oppositionist Council President on Local Politics, Credibility**

26000167 Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY  
in Polish No 45, 6 Nov 88 pp 6-7

[Interview with Janusz Stepniak, chairman of the Fajslawice Gmina [Rural Township] National Council: "An Oppositionist in Power"; date and place not given]

[Text]

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] You have long been frank about your activity in the illegal structures—most

recently in the Provisional National Council of the Solidarity of Private Farmers. For the last 4 months you have been chairman of the gmina [rural township] people's council. Your joining the authorities, so to speak, has been criticized from the outset. Do you as an oppositionist by conviction and a GRN [Gmina People's Council] chairman by election believe at present that you have acted rightly?

[Stepniak] Sometimes I feel many doubts about it but at other times I feel very optimistic.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] You are granting interviews to, as it is put, Western Polish-language broadcasting stations. The commanding officer of the militia station at Fajslawice, Terpilowski, characterized as follows the situation created in the gmina by your election to chairmanship of the GRN, "One has to live with it." However, bearing in mind views and their presentations, he added that if university professors can do it, then so can farmers. But not everyone is as tolerant.

[Stepniak] The [gmina] chief, the [gmina] party secretary, the [gmina cooperative] chairmen, etc., display considerable coolness toward myself and my proposals.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Do you resent it?

[Stepniak] Not on their part. I understand the situation. There is the monopoly held by the authorities for 40 years, under which a single political party decided on everything, including gmina affairs. That accounts for the attitude of these individuals. I can only expect that it will change with time. Recently I proposed a meeting between the residents of Fajslawice Gmina and certain participants of the Round Table [the putative negotiations between the opposition and the regime]. The GRN presidium supported me. I wanted on my part to invite a representative of Lech Walesa, for example, Professor Stelmachowski. I expected that the representatives of the party would also invite someone. But there was a sharp conversation. The party secretary did not like my idea, while the chairman of the gmina ZSL [United Peasant Party] branch supported me at first but an apparatchik opposed the idea.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] So your idea failed.

[Stepniak] No. I am stubborn. I could arrange such a meeting at my own cottage or in the parish church. But that is not the point. I agreed with my opponents on inviting certain roundtable participants to a GRN session.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] That means they will meet with councilmen, not with the gmina public. Thus this is a compromise solution. Do you sense it a defeat?

[Stepniak] I realized something else. The attitudes of certain individuals are not, contrary to common judgment, due to the offices they hold and the remuneration they receive. These individuals, few as they are, hold beliefs

that were so to speak passed on to them. As an oppositionist, I find that in this case beliefs were bended, but when I ponder it, I think that this is a matter of conscience.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] You are gaining valuable experience, but it seems to me that any additional controversial proposals or sharp exchanges of opinion will isolate you. What support can you count on within the gmina?

[Stepniak] No legal organization supports me. When I look around I see that I have few associates. Perhaps I will succeed in strengthening my position owing to the rural self-government and new village councils. I visit neighbors, farmers, and tell them that it can be done and they should do the electing.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] You are persuading farmers to participate in rural self-government, although so far, despite the efforts, such self-governments have not meant much.

[Stepniak] True. The administration, the [party] committee, decide on most rural affairs and the common people have become used to this, to letting the authorities decide. Here in Fajslawice Gmina 4 years ago Jozef Wronski proved before the Supreme Court that the elections to people's council in his native village were falsified. Wronski's troubles, the raids of various agencies on his house, were witnessed by all. And all saw that the guy by himself beat the system. There were new elections. This has changed human mentality and views. Here in our gmina the rural self-government will be genuine and not a puppet.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] But that is hardly likely. When last June you and Mr Wronski agreed to run for councilmen, quite a few people pointed at their heads with a finger. They did not believe that you would win, because, as the saying goes, "Someone is watching."

[Stepniak] The situation got worse in recent years, year after year, as reflected in the countryside's mood. Only 25 of the registered voters took part in the elections to people's councils. Thanks to them, I and Wronski became councilmen. But the other three-fourths of adults did not approach the balloting urns because they did not believe that their votes would influence any change to the better. We were told openly that we were being unrealistic.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Is not it paradoxical that most of your gmina neighbors view their own possibilities and situation differently than you and Wronski who, whatever else might be said, are more familiar with the workings of this world?

[Stepniak] I think that the feeling of impotence has been drilled into Poles. This is a result of many years. Why vainly beat one's head against the wall? This passive



spirit of my countrymen is convenient, because it automatically relieves them of responsibility. Wronski and I freed ourselves of it early by simply doing our own thing. I believe that at present what matters most is to do one's own thing and not let oneself be forced to conform to the existing system.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] But "doing your own thing" is not the same as acting on your own. The activities of the chairman of a gmina people's council depend more on the attitude of councilmen than on his own good intentions. In your gmina only every fourth citizen had voted, and hence it is hardly likely that many councilmen share your views. Besides, the procedure for nominating councilmen has been criticized not only by the opposition. You could expect that your intentions would not be translated into reality.

[Stepniak] I acted in the dark. Perhaps it was naive of me, but I believed that people are naturally good and guide themselves by common sense. I counted on something like that when I had agreed to be nominated for a GRN councilman. However, before the elections I wanted to withdraw because I was advised that councilmen would be bound by party discipline. The opposing candidate was Janusz Kielech, a party member, chairman of the gmina cooperative, a good organizer and well-known activist. The first round was a tie; I lacked one vote to win. During the second round I gained that missing vote, or rather I gave it to myself, because I had not voted during the first round. So I became chairman.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] In your opinion, does your victory mean the victory of your view, which is different from that of the opposition's suggestions that people refrain from participating in official structures?

[Stepniak] I was once approached by someone who said that I am a member of the new nomenklatura. This mistrust in any representative of the authorities is justifiable. Given their experiences and disappointments, people are mistrustful and show it, that being their right. I do not think that a similar step should be taken by everyone considered to be an oppositionist. What is happening in Fajslawice is an experiment; let's see and wait. As for me, my principal objective is not to be ground up by the system and to act independently even though I hold an official position.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] This desire to remain constantly intransigent appears to be impossible in the long run. Sooner or later you are bound to offend one or the other side.

[Stepniak] As chairman of a gmina people's council I am not free to impose anything or strive—as some people believe—to assume power in Fajslawice and to rule. This is ridiculous besides, but I am deliberately exaggerating the point I am trying to make. Anything that is to happen here must be a result of democratic choice. But I do have certain deeply rooted beliefs, though on the other hand I

am convinced of the necessity of preserving at any price a proper atmosphere of work within the council. By now, after a couple of months, I know that to me remaining neutral in this way is like balancing on a knife edge. For years the GRN had in reality been a protective screen for the activities of somebody else; the signature of the GRN chairman was a rubberstamp legalizing the actions of the authorities. That was so. People nowadays see that I cooperate with the party secretary, the gmina chief, and the chairmen of other gmina organizations. For example, we lay flowers jointly [at feet of monuments, etc.], this being an ex officio duty of the GRN chairman. I agreed with them not to participate in certain ceremonies, in which I am to be deputized by a member of the council presidium. As for me, I lay flowers on the tomb of the insurgents of 1864 fallen here in battle, which the gmina chief and the party secretary do not.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] What you just said reflects, as it were, our eternal Polish disputes about yet another memorial in honor of somebody. You have your memorials, and we have ours. But where do the gmina, the economy, and the farming come in?

[Stepniak] As a council we take decisions only on 10 percent of the gmina's affairs, and incomplete ones at that. The other 90 percent of the decisions concerning Fajslawice are taken outside us, somewhere else. This concerns land management, social security matters such as pensions and annuities, PZU [State Social Security Administration] (a monopoly), the procurement prices imposed from the top and the monopolization of procurements, the absence of a market economy and supply (rationing and shortages of goods), etc. There exists a thicket of detailed regulations imposed by ministries, central offices, and other offices, in which the good intentions of the council sink as in a morass.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] What then can you accomplish in the gmina as the GRN chairman?

[Stepniak] The Health Care Center will be built as soon as the funds are provided. If not, there still remain the volunteer community projects. I personally view such projects as the shame of the countryside—the villagers have to build for themselves roads, milk collection stations, or stores. As before the situation is bad and the shortages continue. The problem lies in the Gmina Fund. Because it has to be spent on heating the agronomer's office and repairing the school building, which is in a sorry state, so that there is nothing left and the situation has to be patched up by means of volunteer community projects. I believe that it would be ideal if the taxes paid by all the local institutions were to remain in the gmina. The Decree on the Gmina Fund will be effective as of 1 January 1989. I don't know the particulars about that decree, but I hope that owing to it the gmina's coffers will not remain constantly empty.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] So after all you are counting on new decrees and more favorable regulations.

[Stepniak] No. I realize that the proper functioning of the gmina requires activating self-regulating mechanisms. After all, farming is the most important sector here and everything should be subordinated to its needs. We must develop the processing industry, services, and crafts, as well as, for example, [promote the establishment of] a competing store. This year a Polonia company has paid us better for our fruits than the local orchard cooperative. This forced the latter to raise procurement prices, to compete for the raw materials. As a result, more money got into the hands of farmers.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] City dwellers are familiar with a different consequence: high prices at fruit and vegetable booths. Is not it thus selfish of the countryside to desire higher profits?

[Stepniak] For years agriculture had been exploited like some colony. Many people are living in the countryside, so many that some are saying it is overpopulated, but for the most part they are elderly farmers. The young are gone. If we continue to devastate the countryside, it will not be rebuilt. Gmina Chief Rogowski recently told us that the state price of land in our gmina with its very good soils is higher than the prices paid among farmers. Can you tell me of any car, tractor, machine, or other means of production that can be readily purchased at a state price nowadays? No, it is like a stock exchange. The low value of land means the coming end of our agriculture.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Well then, is the Lublin countryside rich or poor?

[Stepniak] Many visitors often come here and tell us that we are having it good in the countryside. I usually answer that it is not the best. The gmina council has required the gmina chief to prepare by year end a report on the situation of the gmina. We want to determine the real living standards here. We would like to know, for example, the number of washing machines and refrigerators in the countryside, and the electricity consumption. These and other things can be cited to shore up one's arguments and convince the interlocutors.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] But the report would provide information that is already well known to farmers anyway.

[Stepniak] We also intend to identify the lacunae; for example, verify whether the local craftsmen have enough work to keep them busy all year round. We want to make an offer to outsiders, to ask them to provide needed services in Fajslawice and open industrial plants here.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Your program is not in itself revolutionary but must meet with some resistance in Fajslawice.

[Stepniak] I try to do everything on the principle of discussion and consensus. I do not intend to ponder

whether I have succeeded or failed by now. The compromises I must constantly make I do not consider as defeats. I think—and that helps me endure—that under this system everything has to be experimented with in practice. After all, nothing here can be defined by theory. Nothing ventured, nothing gained.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] What would make the situation easier?

[Stepniak] When I meet with the secretaries and chairmen, behind them stand organizations and institutions. No one is standing behind me. Perhaps in the future, as I mentioned, the rural self-government may be standing behind me, and then I will be able to declare loudly that the village councils have bound me to take such and such position on an issue. I am constantly receiving official memos bidding me to act in some way or another. Everyone has to follow the instructions, but this is insulting. I need the support of some legal and independent body. Currently we want to form a caucus of nonparty councilmen.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] You have not conceived anything new. The caucus of nonparty councilmen, the caucus of ZSL councilmen, the clubs of nonparty people.

[Stepniak] We have been reared in the spirit of always depending on the support of others; otherwise, you are a cipher. I would not want either people to say that some actions are good just because I initiate them. I dream of a day when country people would regard as something ordinary the activities of persons such as I who hold oppositionist views. I dream of a day when they are permitted to believe that certain forms of democracy and normalcy are beginning to operate in the gmina.

#### Study Supports Place for Opposition Within Political Structure

26000199 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
20 Oct 88 p 4

[Article by Dr Karol B. Janowski of the Institute for the Study of the Problems of Young People: "Political Opposition in Poland"; the article was prepared on the basis of an analysis done by the author in April]

[Text] *First Thesis:* The existence of an opposition does not contradict the directives of the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

For scientific socialism the question of raising the proletariat to the position of the ruling class is the basic issue that conditions the creation of authority subordinate to the people, formed by them, controlled and removed by them, drawing its legitimacy from their support from the people's direct participation (the working class, society) in its exercise. It should be said that the attitude of the

creators of scientific socialism toward bourgeois democracy was not outright rejection of democracy in general but of its degenerate form.

Lenin's investigations went in this direction; he treated the new order as a fragment of the history of humanity containing the synthesis of the continuation and negation. For Lenin, the most important question was "Which class holds the state power in its hands?"

The constitutional principles serving the working class seem to be the boundary that Lenin set out for the existence of various political institutions. Lenin's delineation of two models of the dictatorship of the proletariat is important here.

In the first model, which can be called democratic, he supposed the existence of an opposition. In practice, however, the second, regressive model won out, significantly limiting the democracy of the socialist order. This was chiefly a consequence of the unfavorable situation of Soviet Russia, which also prompted the introduction of "war communism."

As a result, the experiences of Soviet Russia, as interpreted and turned into decisive generalizations by Josef Stalin, became the ideological criteria for judging the world revolutionary process. Thus, in spite of Lenin's suggestions to consider each situation in its specific historical circumstances, his successor treated the unusual conditions in which the revolutionary overthrow and the socialist transformation occurred in Russia as universals. This principle was further strengthened using the thesis that class warfare intensified in the course of socialist transformations, and led to the generalization of this principle: "Whoever is not with us is against us."

#### Without a Social Base

In conclusion, the existence of a legal opposition came to be treated as a contradiction of the doctrine of scientific socialism. In the thought of the directives of Marxism all political phenomena are generated by real factors. Only the elimination or transformation of these real factors can remove the soil on which opposition can appear.

*Second Thesis:* Given the conditions of today's Poland, the class or layer prerequisites for the existence of an opposition oriented toward restoring capitalism are absent.

In Poland the historical representatives of the ruling class deriving from the capitalist formation are few in number and do not significantly weigh on the political side of the functioning of society.

Slogans or proposals generated by distinct political choices or nostalgia for the past, however, can come from this group.

On the other hand, the growing social group arbitrarily termed "the private sector" has not yet formed a base

capable of genuinely supporting a political opposition. This group is not involved politically, and it maintains neutrality. It could become a source of support for opposition if the latter achieves a significant position, and it becomes possible to articulate the interests of the private sector of the national economy through the opposition.

In current conditions, however, given the dominant mechanisms of the economics of this group, it is interested in maintaining and developing these conditions and mechanisms; this is all the more so since the situation is moving toward a broadening of the place of market mechanisms. In this context, the private sector is far from giving genuine support to contesting actions, this group has too much to lose, and the restoration of a capitalist socioeconomic order is distant and risky.

In sum, the procapitalist opposition has no social base, especially since the basic social groups—the working class, the farming class, and the intellectuals—are not opposed to the values of socialism.

*Third Thesis:* The basic factor of contestation lies in the domestic socioeconomic and political conditions.

Given the absence of the class and social-layer conditions for the formation of an opposition, it is forming as a result of the specific conditions, the determinants of awareness, and the influence of external factors. Efforts made by foreign centers programmatically opposed to socialism are a constant phenomenon associated with the ideological and political struggle between two basic political orders. The effectiveness of their actions remains an open question. The declining competitiveness of socialism, the lack of clear successes in the socioeconomic sphere and, in the Polish case, the socioeconomic crisis and the inefficiency of the socioeconomic and political systems, surely strengthen them. It further appears that their effectiveness is not independent. It is more accurate to acknowledge the thesis that the effectiveness of the external influences is determined by the current state of the moods of the majority of society, which are the result of specific situational factors.

It is possible to distinguish various types of contestation.

#### Types of Contestation

First, it is necessary to distinguish a contestation (opposition) of a rightist underpinning, in which the symbolism, forms, and attitudes of an a priori, negative opinion of socialism predominate. From this point of view, this opposition is programmatically stable and is frequently characterized by far-reaching irrationalism: for example, mixing democracy with totalitarianism or programmatically promoting the values of the capitalist socioeconomic and political order.

Contestations with a leftist underpinning require great attention. They are embodied by those who have left the



PZPR and frequently have a thorough knowledge of scientific socialism, a knowledge of the principles and practices of the operation of the party, and support some of the values of socialism, but are disinclined to accept its current form, which is burdened in their opinion, not without reason we must admit, by the Stalinist distortions or their remaining elements. This group is characterized, moreover, by a varied attitude from extreme negation (opposition here and now) through negation of certain phenomenon of socioeconomic and political life, to conditional acceptance. This group, however, seems inclined to initiate dialogue, negotiate, and make limited compromises.

We should remember the influence of Catholicism which weighs on the social awareness in Poland. A number of groups derive from this doctrine, whose orientation falls on both the right and the left of the social and political spectrum. Regardless of the position of the Church declarations that it will keep its political distance, it has attempted to take positions on various political phenomena.

Finally, we should remember that within the party itself there is a critical or contesting group, not always officially expressed, that appears in contacts and informal relationships.

Further, the drive to subjectness, which is currently slightly or insufficiently satisfied by the officially recognized structures of our sociopolitical life, is a powerful underpinning for contestation. The ability to exert genuine influence on its various spheres are still significantly limited. The degree of the implementation of decisive reforms meeting the expectations of the more politically active portion of society remains insufficient.

If these factors, however, are directed so as to create the conditions for revealing and settling contradictory interests and expressing subjectness, they can slow the dangers from the opposition opposed to the socialist order more effectively than administrative methods can.

*Fourth Thesis:* "Everything not opposed to the principles of the constitution is possible."

The above considerations show that the existence of an opposition in Poland is permissible. It does not contradict the intentions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress on giving all social groups the opportunity to express their interests through democratic-socialist institutions; it remains faithful to this directive (not cited by the 10th PZPR Congress) which expresses the drive to create a new model of organizing and exercising authority, an articulation-negotiation model (as opposed to the mobilization-transmission model supported by the party up to August 1980). This model genuinely offers us an opportunity to avoid a crisis and to establish the conditions for activating significant fractions of Polish society and converting them into subjects.

It is possible to define the range of freedom in reference to the opposition: "everything not opposed to the principles of the order is possible." The basic constitutional

principles then are not subject to negotiation. These basic principles are the leading role of the communist party, whose position and influence, as the guarantor of the socialist transformations, were defined and executed in advance primarily through the representative system. Second, social (genuinely social) ownership of the basic, decisive means of production, but subject to the operation of economic laws; distribution of the economic results by an appropriate tax system, facilitating the achievement of results important to society and the conduct of an appropriate social policy. Third, the international alliance system. These principles, which have traditionally been recognized, require a new approach both theoretically and practically.

These fundamental principles constitute the prerequisites for allowing participation in the public life of organized political forces capable of expressing opposition to the method of organizing and exercising authority; the system for steering the sociopolitical life; the method of distributing the goods produced; and the legislative process, etc.

Legalizing and allowing the articulation of various political options within the framework of definite constitutional boundaries would make the polarization of political forces public, leaving in the underground (at the margins) those in opposition not inclined to accept the new rules of the game. We may suppose that they would continue to exist, at least in the underground, regardless of whether they have permission from the authorities. Their activities, however, would be significantly limited, chiefly by the multiplication of open channels for articulating desires and views by various, frequently mutually exclusive vectors.

Nevertheless, the hypothesis seems justified both in the short term and in the long term. The acceleration of the process of comprehensive socioeconomic and political reform of a subject (social) and self-government character could significantly weaken the concrete situational base of the opposition. In the long term, it would make it possible to renew authentic civic attitudes—initiative and activeness—not controlled from above.

Poland has reached the stage comparable with the pre-revolutionary situation when imperatives to make changes to transform the system of operation of society, the economy, and authority appeared.

This stage is associated with the exhaustion of the existing regulations stabilizing social life and the growth of the awareness of the approach of an unavoidable breakthrough within it.

*Fifth Thesis:* New problems appear when we allow opposition.

We should be aware of the fact that when we permit opposition, new elements complicating social and political life appear. These costs, however, are unavoidable.

This applies especially to the PZPR and its members for whom the comfort of authority, which backed by, among other things, the personnel nomenklatura has become a natural state of affairs. A symptom of this naturalness is, among other things, the disappearance of the ability to conduct discussion and political struggle. This complication of the conditions of operation also applies to the ZSL and SD and to Pax, the Polish Catholic-Social Union, and the Christian Social Association. We must also count on the possibility that the political forces, displaying a more or less active opposition, will not accept the current PRON formula.

The PZPR, on the other hand, will be forced to reorient its current conception of its role. First, toward maintaining the initiative of the irreversible, revolutionary changes and supporting forces pushing for reform, regardless of their origin and the intentions behind them. Second, it is not so much a question of securing their relationship to, and place among, the authorities as much as it is the articulation of the interests and desires of the working people so that they actually exercise, control, and remove the authorities, so that the leading role of the PZPR derive from real supports that can be verified.

Simultaneously, the appearance of political opposition, within the allowable boundaries outlined above, can limit the justification under which the "solidarity" union movement regards it as essential to play the role of an underground political opposition. Solidarity began in the past to play a political role when there was a kind of "political vacuum."

#### A Diagnosis of Forces

Open articulation of interests and positions will eliminate the justification for extralegal actions and will make it possible to find a consensus across a relatively broad social base. Generally, however, the union problem in the context of allowing political opposition does not appear to be the most important question; many of its elements would disappear naturally if it was deprived of its political characteristics.

With the restoration of reasonably natural mechanisms for the raising, classifying, and selecting to political life—excluding the free play of political forces—the weakly supported, organized political groups would disappear, forcing the PZPR and its closest allies, the ZSL and SD, to actually depart from procedures giving them a favorable a priori situation.

Allowing new opposition forces into political life remains an open question. It seems essential for the central political powers to define the boundaries and areas of concessions and compromises. Further decisions should depend on the completion of an objective diagnosis of the political forces, of their actual influences, including also the fact that a portion (not the majority) of society is disinclined to display any political involvement. On the other hand, it is an open question which of the significant opposition political forces is inclined to accept the socialist rules of the game, symbolized by the constitutional principles and to

participate in the political system assuming that it was subjected to the appropriate changes.

#### PZPR Voivodship Plenums: Focus on Taxes, Social Benefits, Leadership

##### Leadership Problems Discussed

26000176 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
1-2 Oct 88 p 2

[Article by Jan Urbanowicz: "PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum in Koszalin—How To Lead so as To Guide"]

[Text] The question of how to lead in a way that provides guidance came up throughout the plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Koszalin, which was chaired by First Secretary Eugeniusz Jakubaszek.

Strictly speaking, this was the first part of the voivodship echelon's plenary session. Invitations had also been extended to the first secretaries of basic echelons, as well as to members of commissions of the voivodship committee which were made up of activist group members appointed to deal with special voivodship committee problems, and they too were present. The second part of the session is to be held during the first 10 days of November. In the meantime the members of the Voivodship Committee will have nearly a month and a half to work with the basic party organizations in the various workplaces and villages.

This work is not going to be easy, because members of the Voivodship Committee and its subcommittees have received 35 detailed questions posed by the secretariat and approved by the executive committee. The questions involve current, key problems concerning party work in all sectors of the economy and social life in the voivodship. They can all be reduced to the question posed at the outset, how to lead in a way that provides guidance.

After the plenary sessions were over, the various subcommittees devoted to key issues—there are 12 such subcommittees—met to decide on what is to be done in the immediate future and how to prepare the final documentation. During these latter meetings it turned out that the simplicity of these questions is only superficial and that to gain reliable answers to them, it would be necessary to look at the economic law, which has so often been criticized but is still in effect.

##### Bialystok on Complaints Issues

26000176 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
10 Oct 88 p 2

[Article by Wincenty Zgiet: "PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum in Bialystok—Underlying Causes of Complaints Must Be Removed, Not Their Effects"]

[Text] Bialystok—The public's attitudes are greatly influenced by the response to complaints, suggestions, and

demands from citizens. A matter that has been poorly handled can become the spark to ignite future conflict.

This is the basic conclusion reached on 8 October at the plenum held jointly by the PZPR Voivodship Committee and the WKKR in Bialystok. The plenum's theme was the role of party echelons and organizations in resolving the problems noted in the population's letters, complaints, and remarks.

Jan Skiepmo, First Secretary of the PZPR Parish (Gmina) Committee in Hajnowka, shared his interesting experience in this area. This year the PZPR Voivodship Committee did not receive a single complaint from this parish. Why? It could be because the parish echelon often takes up this subject and because the most experienced party members sit on the complaints and suggestions committee. The speaker went on to emphasize: "We have an idea of our own about where complaints begin and how to prevent them. You see, we think that a direct source of dissatisfaction lies with those people with the wrong attitude who work in offices, shops, services, and the cooperatives."

Jerzy Konopko, a member of the WKK presidium, said that he knows from practical experience that sometimes even removing a person from a job does not work, because the same faulty mechanism remains in operation. For this reason it is necessary to get at the sources of the complaints and eliminate them, rather than trying to remedy the results.

The plenum adopted a resolution describing in detail the tasks of the party echelons and organizations, particularly the areas in which they have been receiving the most complaints.

#### **Food-Processing Taxes Attacked**

26000176 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
24 Oct 88 p 2

[Article by Jolanta Pedziwiatr: "PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum Deliberations: Pila—Waste of Food Should Be Curtailed"]

[Text] (PAP) On 22 October, the PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum in Pila discussed directions for action on the part of the food and agriculture industry to improve market supply. Aleksander Lauk, of Golanca, said: "The subject has already been 'reworked' several times in recent years and the conclusions we reach at this conference will be ones we have already formulated many times over. Let us therefore repeat: the tax system applicable to agriculture and the food and agriculture industry is exceptionally poorly adapted to practical realities. The situation is untenable when, for example, in the meat industry, profit reaches 87 percent, or when low commercial profits make real modernization or new construction of processing plants and shops impossible.

In this regard it would be sound policy to restrict the waste of food now so common in our country."

"The main thing is to reduce the losses," added Ryszard Barkowiak, of the RSP in Bzowa. "And we need rational consumption of what the earth produces. At the RSP we are not making use of the possibilities for fruit and vegetable processing, and the supply is considerable. In our desire to invest in this very activity, we asked the Food Economy Bank for credit, but the amount offered us was so small that our hopes were destroyed."

Stanislaw Betscher of Zlotowo pointed out: "Processing and the whole food and agriculture industry are the least energy-consuming sector of our economy, because they are based on a domestic raw material, and the market is also enriched by them. Significant acceleration of this sector's development would help reduce the public's food costs. The thing is to base the operation on smaller producers operating close to the source of supply."

Gracjan Kita of Chodzieza stated: "We are optimistic about the priority the government has promised for agriculture. In the dairy industry we must ultimately create the foundation for realistic prices, so that subsidies can be reduced to some appreciable extent. We need more and better machinery in the Polish dairies. We want to receive decent credit and get an honest remuneration for work done well. Otherwise even the best plans and programs will be hard to execute."

"On the other hand, there are areas in which the process of transition is visible to the naked eye," Ireneusz Krupka, governor of Pila Voivodship, said. "This shows the consistent policy of demonopolization in the meat industry. One of the symptoms is 'permitting' competitive company shops to enter the market. In our region, there are now 17 such shops in operation, and the number of them will continue to increase."

Kazimierz Grzesiak, head of the PZPR Central Committee's Agricultural Department, took part in the sessions.

#### **Areas of Neglect Noted**

26000176 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
24 Oct 88 p 2

[Article: "Tarnow—Showing Reasons Behind Neglect"]

[Text] (PAP) The PZPR Voivodship Committee plenum met in session on 22 October. This was the first part of the session, which laid out the major theses and directions of party action in the implementation of the reforms.

It was emphasized that if we want to be successful in conducting the process of reforming the economy, we must reform ourselves as a party, in order to guide the processes of change in the country's life and economy in



an efficient innovative way. It was concluded that the party must take into account the changes occurring in the country, but it must be especially mindful of the public's judgment and people's expectations related to improvement in their material situation. It was stated that it is our obligation to show here in Tarnow Voivodship the underlying causes of neglect, delays, and shortages, as well as ways to eliminate them and improve the situation.

Tarnow Voivodship's economic condition at the end of the first 9 months of this year and the resulting process of implementing the economic reform received generally high marks, but people also pointed out that there were still considerable untapped reserves which must be exploited. For example, livestock raising and wholesaling are not going well. Despite some improvement, the construction industry could also stand improvement.

During the plenum specially created problem groups were formed to deal with these issues. They will visit plants and institutions in the region over a period of 3 weeks. During the second part of the plenary deliberations, to be held this coming 12 November, the groups will present concrete assessments and suggestions, and on the basis of them the plenum will list specific tasks for party members and organizations of Tarnow Voivodship to help implement economic and sociopolitical reforms in the region.

#### Competitive Market Discussion

26000176 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
25 Oct 88 p 2

[Article by Ryszard Zatorski: "PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum in Przemyśl—Expectations Not a Prescription for Success"]

[Text] The Party Voivodship Committee's plenum in Przemyśl, which was devoted to defining the place and role of the voivodship party organization in the stream of changes which are taking place, had made points of reference. For example, similar issues had already been discussed at this forum this past March. It was not possible to carry out all of the 78 specific points included in the resolution at that time.

Emil Chomicki presented an analysis which the Voivodship Committee's problem commission handling these matters had made. It showed that the greatest complaints related to the housing issues. Despite the fact that ever increasing plans are exceeded every year in this very voivodship, there is a continual shortage.

It was noted that in this agricultural voivodship, the lines for meat, meat products, cheese, and other products are longer and longer and more and more tedious. Jan Fluda, First Secretary of the KMG in Przeworsko, said: "We must not be suspicious of competitors who are showing up now and becoming more efficient than a commercial monopoly like the GS, for example.

In the context of these everyday, very concrete problems which are so important to the population's standard of living, consideration was given to the need for the party organizations to take a new approach to these matters and to leadership that promotes the best in a direct way rather than an instrumental one.

Zenon Czech, First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee, presented the executive committee's report. The report and the conclusions that were formulated reflected the notion that the party itself must be the one to initiate a reversal of reform implementation methods. Spontaneous changes will not suffice. Party members must be convinced of the reforms and pave the way for others to understand them.

First Secretary Czech strongly emphasized: "We must not expect that working people are counting on a groundswell to overcome incapacity and make social and economic progress. The party must play its role.

The resolution spelled out the tasks for the party organizations and echelons and noted at the same time that residents would be informed each month in the local weekly ZYCIE PRZEMYSKIE about how these points were being implemented.

Marian Kot, head of the PZPR Central Committee's Office of Lists and Inspections, attended the plenary session.

#### Rural Social, Economic Issues

26000176 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
28 Oct 88 p 2

[Article by Slawomir Sikora: "PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum in Nowy Sacz—Good Yield From Poor Soil"]

[Text] Nowy Sacz—The checkerboard of crops spread out over the mountains and hills of Nowy Sacz Voivodship is a picturesque sight for tourists, but for local agriculture, it is a misfortune, a barrier to modern production and larger yields. There are times when, particularly in the Podhale uplands, a farmer has 100 or more tiny scattered pieces of land several dozen kilometers away from one another.

When young people leave the farm for the city, they are actually seeking an easier way to earn a living. This migration is not the result of economic mechanisms, which is supposed to bring about the decline of small, poorly run farms. The poor farmers' retirement system does not encourage farmers to turn over their land. These issues were among the subjects discussed at the PZPR Voivodship Committee plenum in Nowy Sacz, which was devoted to issues of agriculture under the economic reform. Jozef Brozek, First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee, chaired the deliberations, and Zbigniew Michalek, a secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, also took part.

The soil of Nowy Sacz Voivodship would not have been thought likely to provide an increase in fruit production. Prof Adam Szczygiel, director of the Orchard Institute in Brzezno, along with Maria Szubert of Lukowica, warned on the other hand that the figures for the best fruit growers should not be taken for granted, because the new, modern fruit processing plants are still basing their production on orchards which need to have their trees replaced.

Wojciech Kozaczka pointed out the paradoxes in the processing of farm products. Plants in the fruit and vegetable branch still need to be modernized and expanded, but the state is "grabbing" taxes, as the speaker stated forcefully.

Central Committee Secretary Michalek summed up the discussion, pointing out that in agriculture too we should look more often at proved experience that has brought results. In Poland, the fruit and vegetable market is an example of preferable ways for balancing market equilibrium with the law of supply and demand.

**Conflict of Interest Between Party, Nation Viewed**  
26000154 Warsaw PRZEGŁAD KATOLICKI in Polish  
No 42, 16 Oct 88 p 6

[Article by Slawomir Siwek: "First of All: What Kind of State?"]

[Text] RZECZPOSPOLITA No 205 published an interesting article by Ryszard Wojna, "Right or Wrong—My Country" [English in the original]. Interesting, because it prompts commenting on issues that that writer avoids mentioning in his article.

His thesis is as follows: In international contacts of Polish citizens, "even the desire to gain power or impose changes in the system of society in Poland should not justify any efforts by activists desiring to represent the opposition to undermine the foundation of the Polish 'mansion.' If only those several hundred credible Poles who are attentively listened to abroad would agree on just one thing: the Polish state is the national community."

The writer—willy-nilly—blames among those "several hundred credible Poles," also the Catholic Church for a certain approach to international contacts. Speaking of the church, he claims that "traditions of the superiority of the nation to the state" are deeply rooted in it, thus promoting the argument of the permanence of the nation irrespective of the existence of statehood. Without negating the historical justification of this position, the writer states that, when proclaimed at present, it harms both the nation and the state, for it justifies pursuing international contacts on behalf of national interests, which the opposition does not view as coinciding with the interests of the state. Now this helps other countries pursue a policy differentiating between the interests of the Polish state and the Polish nation.

For then the state is identified with the authorities. More, "The view being propagated is that the state identifies itself with the party, and vice versa. As a result, the entire society views both the party and the state as a common whole." Ryszard Wojna observes that nowadays this view is not justified.

Admittedly, nothing is worse to a proper life of the nation and the state than a continuing distinction between the interests of both. Moreover, this distinction may be stressed to the society so as to harm the country's interests. If such a dichotomy exists, the paramount objective should be to eliminate its causes rather than its consequences.

When can such a situation arise? In the Polish case, it had existed during the Partitions of Poland when there was no Polish statehood but there existed a Polish nation with its own interests, different from the interests of the partitioning powers. The stance of the Catholic Church in those times was, despite the absence of statehood, pro-state—of course, meaning that it supported the restoration of statehood. For it contributed to preserving the national community, serving as the foundation for restoring statehood.

In contrast, any antinational stance, such as the one adopted in the programs of the Polish radical left, which survived the Partition Period, was also an antistatehood stance. This was demonstrated during the 1920 [Polish-Soviet] war by the formation of the Bialystok Government and the idea of a Polish Soviet republic, which had besides, together with the era of Stalinism, survived during the postwar period in the form of the famous postulates of the "Fatherland of the Proletariat." Besides, the members of state leadership did not conceal their sympathies for it, as reflected rather brutally in the "Gomulka affair." A pro-state attitude was opposed to the pronational attitude, and the former was defined ideologically and arbitrarily by the ruling party. Thus, in this case, the property attitude was identified with the pro-state attitude. The gap between the concepts of the party and the state was narrowing. This was how the views of succeeding generations of Poles were shaped. It was becoming quite clear that ideological opponents of the party and its interests were, by virtue of a definition that they had not coined, opponents of the state securing the interests of the ruling party—a state whose instruments were at the service of just one rather than all social groups. That was a totally new concept of the state for a nation that had been heretofore part of a different civilization. The nation did not accept this concept. As for the mistakes of the rulers, mistakes that were raised to the rank of policies of the state, they confirmed the belief of many people that opposing these mistakes is consonant with protecting Poland's national interests. Example: at some time demands for asserting the Polish presence in Szczecin had been regarded as antistate, although they were consonant with Poland's paramount national interests. Another example: the authorities had considered it a pro-state attitude to support ejecting the

Catholic Church from its properties in the Northern and Western Territories but an antistate attitude to criticize their policy toward the native inhabitants of these territories, and so on.

It remains to be stated that nowadays there should be no grounds for resenting it that the Poles and the mood of the society in Poland feel alienated from the state. And this feeling cannot be eliminated by declarations that its causes are now a thing of the past.

All this has influenced the society's attitude toward foreign policy issues. For years that policy has been a jealously preserved domain of the rulers. And as for the mistakes of the rulers, the society had its own opinion about them, an opinion that is being acknowledged nowadays. It asked the following question: if mistakes were made in so many domains, why should they be absent in the domains completely outside social control? Any unpermitted intrusion into these latter domains was considered contrary to the "raison d'etat." In this respect a pedagogical method of the worst kind, namely, disciplining, was applied to the society. The society's memory is strong and the notoriety of the "teachers" persists. Before they adopt a new educational approach, they should bear this in mind.

There also appeared in this connection certain distortions on the part of the society. For example, it has lost the habit of thinking about affairs of state in terms of international policy. Yet, as known, that policy influences greatly our national issues. Even the best suggestions on this matter have been received skeptically or negatively when coming from the rulers. For example, the comments by Ryszard Wojna on the possibility of direct foreign intervention into Polish affairs as early as in August 1980 [the rise of Solidarity] were ignored, because they had been viewed as government propaganda to combat the strikes or, in extreme cases, viewed by some people as denunciations against his own nation. Even though Ryszard Wojna was saying the truth (to this day there is insufficient information on what was possible, what expected, and what propaganda), to many people that "teacher" lacked credibility because for years he had been linked to the concept of "the state of the rulers" and to a single style of exercise of a patriarchal foreign policy and its propagation among the society.

It can thus be said that the behavior of social groups and their representatives in international contacts in the future will hinge on the disappearance of the idea of "the state of the rulers" and its transformation into the idea of "the state of all citizens."

Therein lies the root cause of the Polish crises. The concept of a state subservient to a single ideology and a single political group is not accepted by a definite majority of Poles. Developing a new concept of the state is in common

national interest. That new concept should include the postulate, previously unmet, of a "participatory foreign policy" [in a sense akin to "participatory governance"]. Only this can reveal fully how sensitive this matter is and how strongly it is linked to fundamental questions of national existence and statehood. Even though some people may not like it, this will also require the voices and efforts of a completely new generation of public activists in this domain. Shaping a new way of understanding (rather than undermining) the "Polish *raison d'etat*" should be done by persons who are not burdened by past mistakes, if it is to be credible. Otherwise, even valid suggestions on this issue will be rejected and people will not be completely convinced as to what should be required of our foreign policy. Should that policy be proactive, or should it retain the status of a secret club of the chosen and the initiated, so that "*raison d'etat*" would be a vacuous and incomprehensible conjuration or a passkey to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

Poland definitely needs an active foreign policy, but that policy cannot be pursued even in technical matters by the "apparat" unless it is understood by the society and has its support. This is a behest of the times, in view of the changes going on in the world, and especially in that part of Europe in which we live.

Two more observations: The postulate of a participatory foreign policy remains a mere postulate, and hence the present division cannot be overcome by a newspaper article whose author, even if he makes valid comments, apparently fails to perceive that something happened in the past in order for something to happen in the future. It is to be supposed that the stage of complete centralization is behind us, that we are rounding a curve behind which lies an unknown factor that may be the "Polonization" of this country. The manner in which constructing a more sovereign state of all citizens would also influence Poland's participation in international processes should be considered. Two cardinal points: the permanence of Poland's frontiers and the retention of the present system of alliances; however, they do not cover the whole of the problem known as "Polish foreign policy." How are we, for example, to conceive our place in a changed Europe?

The other observation: The social forces that are oppositionist toward the traditional view of the state and that nowadays are becoming openly recognized should have a vision of their own concerning the issues raised above, and they should be enabled to present their position on these issues. Only this will make possible discussion between partners concerning the limits and fundamental principles of the *raison d'etat* of a state common to all.

Then criticisms of views and personalities shall no longer reflect a paternalist treatment of the society but will become something normal, accommodated within a pluralist exchange of views.



**Orzechowski Visit to USSR Stresses Ideology, Education Cooperation**  
26000173b Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish  
17 Oct 88 pp 1, 7

[PAP report by Jozef Rzeszut: "Development of Cooperation in Ideology and Education: M. Orzechowski's Visit to the USSR"]

[Text] Moscow—Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, paid a working visit to the Soviet Union from 12 to 16 October 1988 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

On 12 October, he met with Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. They exchanged views on issues associated with perestroika in the Soviet Union and the renewal in Poland and with the development of Polish-Soviet cooperation in ideology and education. Among the participants in the meeting were Aleksandr Kapto, head of the Ideology Section of the CPSU Central Committee, and Włodzimierz Natorf, ambassador of the Polish People's Republic to the USSR.

On 13 October, Prof Marian Orzechowski met with Guriy Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who informed the Polish guest of the activities of the academy in the perestroika of Soviet society and the Soviet state. They also discussed the direction for the development of Polish-Soviet cooperation in education.

M. Orzechowski also met on this day with the leadership of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee. He gave a presentation for the research and teaching staff of the institution in which he presented the state of the preparations for the theoretical and ideological conference of the PZPR. Next M. Orzechowski had a meeting with the editors of the theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee, *KOMMUNIST*. On 13 October, M. Orzechowski also visited the Lomonosov Moscow State University, where he met with A. Logunov, rector and member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

On the last day of his visit to the USSR, M. Orzechowski visited the Danilov cloister in Moscow, the seat of the patriarch of Moscow and of all Russia. M. Orzechowski was received by Archimandrite O. Tichon, who described the course of the recent celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of the baptism of Rus for the Polish guest.

**Gdansk PZPR Workplace Leader on Party's Status, Needed Changes**  
26000212 Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish  
No 46, 12 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with Eugeniusz Glogowski, director, Factory Center for Education and Information, and social secretary, Plant Committee of the Polish United Workers Party at the Gdansk Shipyard Remontowa, by Barbara Pietkiewicz: "Overgrown With Moss"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text]

[*POLITYKA*] In *GLOS WYBRZEZA* I read the following passage: "At the plenum of the PZPR Plant Committee at the Gdansk Repair ["Remontowa"] Shipyard consternation reigned. Eugeniusz Glogowski began to talk like a purebred oppositionist about the unshattered fetters of Stalinism, about decrying any attempt to revise dogmas as a deviation and about the barriers erected by the party apparat to any bold reform undertaking."

[Glogowski] During that plenum I took the floor to counter, so to speak, the official report presented at it. I declared that in Poland prospects for systemic and civilizational changes are lacking. Also absent is a force that could translate such a program into reality.

[*POLITYKA*] According to the Constitution, that force should be the PZPR.

[Glogowski] But it is not. The resolutions of the congresses and plenary sessions of the PZPR largely remain on paper. The PZPR is not that force, because it cannot be it, being too conservative. I even think that the sociopolitical surroundings are being reformed at a faster pace than the party.

[*POLITYKA*] In Gdansk I talked with people from the opposition. They are intelligent, activist, resolute, and determined.

[Glogowski] They have nothing to lose.

[*POLITYKA*] The same thing could surely be said of a large part of the party apparat.

[Glogowski] But it is within the opposition that a kind of natural selection is proceeding. A new type of the opposition activist has evolved: intelligent, astute, and a good tactician. In the party there is no such selection. Its cadres are fossilized as it were. It acts as if power were given to it alone and for life. But let me recall the words of Janos Kadar, "History has unfolded so that we are the sole party, but we should act as if there were 20 parties and as if each day there were elections going on."

[*POLITYKA*] In saying that there is no selection within the party do you have reservations about the nomenklatura?

[Glogowski] The nomenklatura has caused the party more harm than good. Given a personnel policy with the choice often falling on the loyal mediocrity the nomenklatura merely consolidated this situation.

[POLITYKA] Well, what do you propose?

[Glogowski] Competitive appointments, if you please. Professional qualifications and legality should be the criteria for appointment to executive positions or any other position. The point is that party members should be the candidates proving themselves to be the best professionally and intellectually.

[POLITYKA] Assuming that pure intentions are retained, those best and brightest would first have to want to join the party. Yet, the average age of party members is close to 50. I understand that winners of contests for knowledge about the party—high school students prior to their graduation—join the party. This means that there is an "age gap" within the party.

That missing age category will join if the party has an attractive program.

[POLITYKA] Do you also have a prescription for such a program?

[Glogowski] A program is not just thought up on the spur of the moment. To arise, it requires leaders of a new type. The average present-day party leader knows how to organize a plenary conference and issue directives via telephone; he should go out to the people, you know.

[POLITYKA] "You know, you understand"—has nothing changed?

[Glogowski] Nothing fundamental. During the strikes the party leaders looked on through window curtains at the rally at which Walesa spoke.

[POLITYKA] Walesa "emerged" [into public view] on his own, without being appointed. How are the leaders of the new type, as you term them, to emerge in party life?

[Glogowski] "New type," meaning persons distinguishing themselves by their intellect and personality. Such persons can emerge only in conditions of rivalry. That will happen once intellectual life exists within the party. And that kind of life in its turn will arise once competitive programs arise within the party and once this is viewed not as a weakness but as something quite contrary.

[POLITYKA] You are indeed a pure revisionist.

[Glogowski] I hope that this word will be deleted from the party's vocabulary. It was Stalinism which introduced the artificially monolithic party. In Lenin's time various programs operated within the party—those of Bukharin and Trotsky, and there was nothing iconoclastic about that.

[POLITYKA] But what will be the guarantees that the best program will win? That some new Stalin would not again murder a new Bukharin with his program?

[Glogowski] I am in favor of legalizing other, competing parties operating normally, meaning not in a factory but in broad public life.

[POLITYKA] Then what system of society would that be?

[Glogowski] I consider myself a Marxist, but not a dogmatist, if you please. Eight years ago I lived through a period of chaos and doubts. I wondered whether Marxism as a social theory had any meaning. I read the classics, also Bukharin and Trotsky. Following two arduous years of searching I reached the conclusion that this theory must be commenced anew by repudiating Stalinist dogmas and treating Marxism creatively.

[POLITYKA] The topic of your Master's dissertation at the Institute of Political Sciences was trade union pluralism. What do you think of relegalizing Solidarity?

[Glogowski] I would support it were it purely a trade union. But they already are ripping our posters off the walls and smearing over the tablets of legal trade unions.

[POLITYKA] You could be doing the same thing to their posters and tablets.

[Glogowski] And sock 'em in the jaw, too. Right? But political struggle is not some stupid push and shove.

[POLITYKA] When during the strike the party looked on from behind window curtains, where were you—you, an activist of the plant party committee?

[Glogowski] We filmed a documentary of the strike; that was my assignment. When one stands in the middle of such a crowd, one begins to think differently than when sitting in an office. That's for certain.

[POLITYKA] Think in what way, for example?

[Glogowski] That the strike is conducted by a group, small or big, of determined and activist individuals, while the others, the majority, for a long time look on and wait. That waiting majority has to be won over not by arguments of force, not by the argument that the Constitution gives us [the party] the monopoly on power, but by the force of arguments.

[POLITYKA] For example, what arguments would you have presented during the strike if you had the courage to ascend the podium and speak out against Walesa and his activists?

[Glogowski] For example that the strike was undercutting the shipyard's economic performance.

[POLITYKA] You are joking. Your repair shipyard is financially strong unlike your bankrupt neighbor [the Lenin Shipyard—Walesa's stronghold].

[Glogowski] You too view things from an office window. That is, you aren't aware that the shirt is closest to the body. Indeed if the economy is not reformed, arguments lack a solid foundation. And it will be reformed once the party itself ceases to be a command-allocation party.

[POLITYKA] An efficient economy is a market economy; in this respect there exists a far-reaching unanimity. How does your lovely picture lacking a rigid nomenclature and providing for broad competition for hearts and minds accommodate the guaranteed leading role of the party?

[Glogowski] Do we have to continue to handle the economy in the absence of common sense? The party should determine the economic strategy instead of evaluating the erection of a factory building or the performance of a factory manager. Assessments of this kind are a task of the plant management and the worker council, and the party has no legal justification for performing them. The party's leading role ensues from its authority and not from interference with the qualifications of skilled workers or professionals. It annoys me when I read such stuff as, "The plant party committee recommends to the director" or "The Politburo of the Central Committee has recommended to the government...."

[POLITYKA] In your speech at the plenary session of the plant party committee you sharply criticized the party's performance at the shipyard. Sociological studies of party members indicate that, while they have many positive qualities such as educational background or intelligence, they lack the most important thing—the willingness to accept the risks of acting. Individuals who are supposed to be the vanguard are actually conservatives.

[Glogowski] And let me add that conservatives are people overgrown with moss.

[POLITYKA] You are 30 years old and have been a party member for 10 years. Don't you feel a loser as a member of this party?

[Glogowski] No, because I am not a player in the game. I have no influence on it, though I would like to have it. I know young and valuable people within the party who think like I and would like to participate in the struggle for the authenticity of the party. I hope that the time for it is now beginning.

[POLITYKA] It appears that you do not lack the desire to "accept the risks of acting."

[Glogowski] Because we had no dwelling of our own, I did physical labor at a plant-sponsored housing construction site in time I could have spent on recreation and

reading. I would like my two little daughters to have the opportunity of obtaining a dwelling in the normal way, without the humiliating years' long wait as if one were being done a favor. This is an important reason for me.

[POLITYKA] Would you want to pursue a political career?

[Glogowski] Yes, if it would be a career not only ensuing from my abilities and competences but also one that would be constantly verified.

[POLITYKA] How did the voivodship party committee members present at the plenary session of the shipyard party committee react to your speech?

[Glogowski] There was a great silence. It was only after First Secretary of the [Gdansk] Voivodship PZPR Committee Marek Holdakowski, who was present at that meeting, did not exorcise me as a revisionist that the audience voiced its interest or acknowledgment.

[POLITYKA] During an interview granted by the first secretary of the shipyard party committee to GLOS WYBRZEZA, he answered as follows, when asked by the reporter what he thought about your speech: "It seems that some people want to make their own political capital. There exist reformers who awaken at a particular hour. I am not denying the need to introduce changes, but that should be done calmly."

[Glogowski] Well then, instead of arguments, adjectives were applied against me.

[POLITYKA] Thank you for the interview.

#### **Miners' Efforts To Obtain Work Reinstatement, Solidarity Support**

26000166 Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY  
in Polish No 45, 6 Nov 88 pp 6-7

[Article by Tadeusz Biedzki: "X Days of Work: There Is a Chance That the Jobs of Andaluzja's Miners Will Be Reinstated"]

[Text] Henryk Pyka, director of the Andaluzja Mine in Piekary Slaskie, made it no secret already on the eve of the ending of the strike last August that he was going to dismiss the most active strikers. He kept his word.

"When we reported for work on 24 August," said the Chairman of the Strike Committee Piotr Polmanski, "the director said that all Committee members and several other miners were subject to a disciplinary dismissal. Two days later we received a confirmation in writing. The mine notified us that it was terminating our jobs without prior notice 'on the grounds of a severe infringement of basic job duties, i.e., unexcused absences from work.'"



At that time the strike at Jastrzebie had still continued. The last strike, at the July Manifesto Mine, ended in the night between 2 and 3 September when documents containing, among other things, job guarantees were signed. Jan Jadczyk, the representative of the general director of the Black Coal Community, signed a declaration expressing consent to recording "X" days, that is, excused work days, for the striking miners. That declaration also stated, "Any appeals will be resolved affirmatively by the General Directors of the Mine Communities within 2 weeks from the date of appeal, with the dismissed employees being reinstated on the same terms as before."

On 5 September 37 dismissed Andaluzja miners requested Director Pyka to reinstate them in their jobs on the basis of the declaration signed at Jastrzebie. At the same time, just in case, they directed a plea to the Labor Court in Tarnowskie Gory.

After a week Director Pyka agreed to reinstate 31 of the miners, but refused to accept the remaining six: the three Polmanski brothers, Andrzej Sokolowski, Wilhelm Szoltysik, and Ewald Sosna.

"They were the strike leaders," he explained his decision. "The procurature is investigating their cases. I cannot act in advance of the decision of the procurature and the court."

"We absolutely could not agree to such a resolution of the matter," said Stanislaw Swat, a miner on the "List of the 31," that is one of those who were offered reinstatement. "That would be disloyal and show lack of solidarity with our fellow workers. Besides, at Personnel we learned that actually we were going not to be reinstated but hired as new employees. The disciplinary dismissal was to remain in effect and thus we would be losing our seniority and along with it all the attendant benefits, such as the annual one- or two-month bonuses, special allotments, and the privileges of the Miner's Card. That would be dishonest."

The mine management is of a different opinion.

Director Pyka asked, "In the end the labor law code applies to everyone, does it not? And the strikes were illegal. Was I to break the law?"

But the discharged miners point to the declaration signed at Jastrzebie and believe that it should be honored. The director has ignored that declaration, and that was why on 17 September they appealed to the Dabrowa Coal Community.

After 2 weeks the answer came. It upheld the director's decision regarding the "31" and offered the six other miners work at other mines of the Community.

The discharged miners did not accept the proposal and did not show up at personnel divisions.

The stalemate continued.

Day after day, publicity about the discharged miners increased. The Western press mentioned them, and so did the Western—including the Polish-language—broadcasting stations. Their cause was championed by certain Catholic periodicals, especially by 'GOSC NIEDZIELNY' of Katowice. On 15 September this topic was raised by Lech Walesa in a conversation with General Czeslaw Kiszczak. On 17 October the Secretariat of the Episcopate addressed to Gen Kiszczak a letter expressing anxiety over the failure to resolve matters relating to the job security of strikers. Gen Kiszczak in his turn turned to the proper institutions, requesting them to infer no consequences concerning the strikers. Declarations by social groups and private persons were addressed to various, both legal and illegal, institutions. These declarations also wandered abroad. This concerned not just the Andaluzja miners—although there the number of dismissals was the largest—but also the miners at other mines (altogether, 141 miners were dismissed and 211 conscripted into the army) and employees of other establishments.

The material welfare of the dismissed miners was attended to by the illegal, yet existing Solidarity structure.

"We live on aid from Solidarity," was plainly declared by Grzegorz Horzela, one of the "31" from the Andaluzja Mine.

The illegal Solidarity branch at the Andaluzja Mine is paying not only the dismissed miners but also those who had taken part in the strike and suffered losses because of it. Everyone at the mine is aware that a daily "strike pay" of 3,000 zlotys is being disbursed. This is being mentioned loudly and explicitly.

Also being mentioned, and increasingly at that, are the dismissed miners. People are wondering whether or not they will be reinstated.

This is hardly surprising, not just because of the publicity gained by this matter domestically and abroad.

Here in Piekary it may be of the greatest concern because this affects 37 miners who all have families, friends, acquaintances, fellow workers. At least several hundred persons are directly involved or at least concerned. Besides, it should be borne in mind that most of the dismissed miners had been members of the strike committee, which during the first few days of the strike gained a following among nearly one-half of the workforce. That is why many people support more or less openly reinstating the dismissed miners.

"All should be reinstated," a 30 years old miner declared. "After all, Prime Minister Rakowski himself

said that this was a justified protest. That is how it is: they protested in support of a just cause, and so are they to suffer now?"

But there is no shortage of persons holding a different opinion.

"If they are reinstated," an elderly man, who turned out to belong to the same work brigade, commented, "They will again sow turmoil and organize strikes. What's the use? Are we any better off after the strikes?"

"I wonder," a bystander commented, "whether they would return that money to Solidarity if the management pays them compensation. Because otherwise it would look as if they were taking money from both Solidarity and the authorities."

There is no doubt that the workforce of Andaluzja is divided.

"True," declared Adam Pogoda, first secretary of the party committee at the mine, "When in 1982 we had reinstated everyone, including even the most extremist Solidarity activists, we did that for the sake of national reconciliation, to end divisions. This bore bad fruit."

Tadeusz Chmurek, chairman of the [regime-sponsored] mine trade unions, also views the workforce as divided.

"Would reinstating the dismissed miners change the situation?" he asked. "And would this be a justified step? I am curious as to how I would be dealt with if I would organize an illegal strike."

Thereupon he stated that the authorities ignore the official trade unions and do not treat them seriously. He has a grievance, namely, that it is rather the opposition that the authorities are negotiating with.

"All because," he said, "the decree on trade unions has tied our hands. In practice it is not possible to legally organize a strike. That is a mistake for which we all are paying now and from which the opposition is profiting."

At the Andaluzja Mine signatures for a petition to the director began to be collected. Once 420 signatures were collected, the petition was handed to Director Pyka. Its authors stated, "We are not alone in thinking that the strikes of August 1988 were a justified protest of the working people, even though these strikes conflict with the law of the land. Thus it is impossible to accept a situation in which those who were instrumental in bringing about the Roundtable [the coming negotiations between the regime and the opposition]... are being penalized, treated like hoodlums, and fired from their jobs." The petition ends with a demand for the reinstatement of all the discharged strikers.

On 23 October Director Pyka sent to Jan Rodzon, director of the Dabrowa Coal Community, a letter asking

for a change in the decision taken on the 31 dismissed miners. "I propose," he wrote, "reinstating the abovementioned persons in their jobs instead of hiring them anew.... In addition, I request a reconsideration, with the object of reinstatement, of the decision concerning six strike organizers. I believe that extending once again the hand to the individuals in question will contribute to relieving a tense situation not only at our mine and will be one of many steps in pursuit of national reconciliation."

Two days later Director Rodzon gave his consent to a change in the decision concerning the "31" but upheld the previous decision concerning the "six."

The dismissed miners thought this to be "a step in the right direction."

"But an incomplete one," they added. "Why should six of our fellow workers be treated differently?"

It appears, however, that reaching a full agreement is by now close.

"I admit," said Arkadiusz Kadlubiec, first secretary of the city party committee in Piekary Slaskie, "that we fear that this step may be interpreted by some people as a sign of our weakness. This is not so. We could have firmly adhered to our previous position. If we are changing it, that is really because we perceive a chance for an agreement to exist, because we believe in reaching an accord through dialogue. This is our overriding rationale. Therefore, we are extending our hand to be shaken. May it not hang in the void."

#### **Stalowa Wola: Solidarity Registration Remains Key Issue**

26000160b Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish  
No 42, 15 Oct 88 p 7

[Article by Jan Dziadul: "In Stalowa Wola, Politics Is What Is Now Most Important—Landscape Before or After?"]

[Text] During the August strikes at Stalowa Wola, its organizers declared that "we will strike until they meet our one demand, the registration of Solidarity." On the 11th day of the strike, they agreed to turn the matter of legalization of another trade union over to Lech Walesa. This was not done without serious reservations: 14 representatives of the strike committee voted to end the strike, 3 abstained and 9 voted to continue the strike. Not everyone believes that Walesa can negotiate union pluralism and that is why since the end of the strike they have tried to show that Solidarity is an accomplished fact. In a little while perhaps we will know the answer to the question of whether what has happened in Stalowa Wola will help or hinder the roundtable negotiations.

"They are creating just the outward appearance of legal action!" said Czeslaw Czernecki, personnel director at Stalowa Wola.

These outward appearances go into a special briefcase that is growing more indifferent every day. If the matter is seen in that light, then Director Czernecki is, as some say, responsible for what happens in the Solidarity underground or, as others say, for the introduction of grass-roots pluralism. In the end, it is all the same. The government calls this the *fait accompli* policy.

At this time (6 October), 15 Solidarity cells have been formed at Stalowa Wola. These are not yet being called founding (organizational) committees but division (administration) committees which is the term used for legal organizations. They have already begun to gather contributions, issue membership cards and put up Solidarity announcement boards.

The first to run up against this forced pluralism have been the division directors because it is they to whom the Solidarity leaders submit various materials. Solidarity submits its roster of leaders and organizational scheme. They ask for office space. The directors inform them that the union is illegal and cannot be given any office space. All of the submitted documents are passed on and go into the briefcase of Director Czernecki. Warnings come from the other side (with a blank space for the name of the warning's recipient): "Materials submitted to the directors of Stalowa Wola Steel Works and especially the minutes of meetings of the illegal Solidarity union organization show that you have been participating in a committee (board) of this organization that has been illegally formed in your division."

"According to article 60 of the 8 October 1982 law on trade unions at places of employment, only one trade union is allowed and that is the Self-Managing Independent Trade Union [SNZZ] of Stalowa Wola Employees. This regulation has not been changed and the recommendation to register another trade union at Stalowa Wola has been legally rejected by the Voivodship Court in Tarnobrzeg and that ruling has been sustained by the Superior Court. Therefore, any activity within the illegally organized Solidarity union is a violation of the law and is subject to strict criminal sanctions defined in article 53 of the above-named law..."

"With regard to the above, I ask you to reconsider the situation and cease these illegal activities. At the same time, I must warn you about the criminal and disciplinary sanctions to which you may be subject..."

Director Czernecki has already signed quite a few of these letters but what have been the repercussions of this warning?

[Czeslaw Czernecki] "Very little! We are obliged to warn people when their activities are illegal and that is all. We inform the police and prosecutor's office... Let me repeat: just like the issue of Solidarity's registration, this is something that Stalowa Wola's directors have the authority to resolve."

At this time, there is no way of knowing how many of Stalowa Wola's employees have joined Solidarity. They say that it might be one, two or even three thousand. The official union has 11,000 members (or 55 percent of the work force) and around 500 retired persons. Theoretically, if pluralism were to become a legal fact, the present union has nothing to fear. But that is only the theory. Some 200 to 300 members of the official union participated in the August strikes but not a single economic or social postulate was issued in all that time. Therefore, they were for Solidarity!

"Since the strikes ended, the union has lost 200 members," says the chairman of SNZZ, Zdzislaw Filar. "Some of them told us outright that they were switching to Solidarity while others said that they did not want to have anything to do with any unions because it was all beginning to seem quite comic. I think that even if we do achieve union pluralism, the largest group will consist of workers who are not members of any union."

Chairman Filar cannot imagine union pluralism. Director Czernecki also thinks that, considering what happened here in 1980-81, two unions at the same place of work would be a mistake. On the other hand, the chairman of the Worker's Self-Management Council, Stanislaw Bakonski, does not hide his support for such a union situation.

[Bakonski] "Let them offer their programs, talk and elect representatives."

But their politics, Mister Chairman? We cannot believe that Solidarity has dropped its politics.

[Bakonski] "I outgrew that movement so we do not have to be persuaded. I see Solidarity as a movement of ideas... I do not insist that any new union has to have that name but I don't see why it shouldn't... If there is ever any possibility in Poland for political actions independent of existing institutions, then Solidarity could become a crystalline pure union..."

In recent weeks, the Worker's Self-Management Council has repeatedly voted for a referendum on union pluralism at Stalowa Wola. The head director has every time rejected it saying that such a referendum would be illegal.

"Such a referendum," explains Bakonski, "would help the government decide what to do with this phantom. Something has to be done to get the people working once they come through the plant gates. Let the government finally fulfill its promise to have the Council of State make a decision about pluralism. For almost 7 years, we have been waiting for a decision!"

Wladyslaw Liwak, a member of the roundtable and a Solidarity figure, was one of the organizers of the August strike and would be glad to talk about pluralism but since



his meeting with General Kiszczak says: "No one knows what the result might be but for certain, things will be much clearer. At least we will know where we stand..."

And if nothing is decided?

[Liwak] "So far, nothing has worked so what do we have to lose?"

"We will not renounce our call for pluralism because we have invested too much in that cause!" said Wieslaw Wojtas, chairman of the strike committee, after the strike.

Even during the strikes at Stalowa Wola, the idea of an in-house roundtable began to take form. It was an interesting notion. The Worker's Council and the SNZZ asked why the "top" should have a monopoly on talks. In August, the strikers did not want to talk with anyone unless Solidarity were legalized. The idea of a roundtable was brought up in September but nothing came of it because no decision was made at the top or because it was not "ordered". Finally the decision was made: we are meeting on 6 October.

On 6 October, Chairman Filar said: "We have learned from our colleagues at the Lenin Steel Works that such a meeting was a mistake. There was no real discussion, just a lot of invective. If this is how pluralism gets started, then I am absolutely against it. I do not see any reasons to follow bad examples."

The meeting never took place.

In the first few days after the strike ended (at the beginning of September), the most important concern at Stalowa Wola was how to make up for the lost work time (It has been estimated that the lost work time cost the plant 2.7 billion zlotys, more than the annual budget for the town of Stalowa Wola but the figure could be higher because during the strike, Stalowa Wola was left by a Chinese delegation. If that delegation does not return, it will mean that more than one million dollars has slipped through our fingers). The subject has now been put on the back burner. Regardless of a resolution by the Assembly of Delegates of the Employee Self-Management Council, almost no one has made any special effort to catch up. Politics are what matter most.

Adam Gawel, head director of the Mechanical Division (and a deputy director for the entire plant) does not hide his disappointment at the workers' attitude: "Before the strikes, the atmosphere on the job was very good. To me it seemed that everyone understood that the worldwide boom on construction machinery was a unique opportunity for us. But now, that old commitment is gone, creative dissatisfaction is gone and monotony reigns. People are frustrated. They are indifferent about making up for losses. Overtime work has dropped. If I could, I

would tell the roundtable participants and the new government to do everything it could to stop making production enterprises the arena of political and social games."

There is still one thing that can cause immeasurable losses that probably can never be made up and that would reduce the Stalowa Wola giant to a flower bed. The first secretary of the party committee, Andrzej Dymowski, told a journalist from SOCJALISTYCZNE TEMPO (Stalowa Wola's weekly newspaper) that "we have to expect that we may lose our status as a defense enterprise. If that happens, the economic consequences would affect all of our employees rather than just any present or future strikers. This would mean the loss of certain tax privileges."

"This would more or less mean that wages would be reduced by a third," said Director Czeslaw Czernecki. "This is easy to calculate if, since the July regulations, average earnings fluctuate at around 60,000 zlotys. I do not know whether the strike organizers and all who threaten to repeat the whole history of strikes are aware of what can happen."

The strike has driven a wedge between people. It has divided the workers into the "better and worse," and "cowards and brave ones." It has sown the seeds of long-standing distrust between foremen and workers. Who knows whether the moral losses are more dangerous than the almost 3 billion zloty production loss? Fortunately, both sides share one conviction and that is that this cannot go on!

Barricades have definitely been thrown up at Stalowa Wola but the bulldozer that can take them down can be made in the capital.

#### **Sejm Delegate Views Chances for, Nature of, Second Chamber**

26000178a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
18 Oc. 88 p 5

[Interview with Prof Grzegorz Seidler, lawyer, Sejm delegate, by Maciej Urbaniak: "A Second Chamber or 'Enlightened Reason'?", date and place not given]

[Text]

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] People are talking more and more about creating a second chamber in our parliament. This concept was strongly emphasized during the recent 7th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. The subject is often brought up by public officials, academic figures and politicians. The second chamber will almost certainly be discussed at the coming roundtable. What is your opinion of the matter?

[Prof Seidler] I still have not decided what such a second chamber should be.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] As a professional, you do, however, know what it was.

[Prof Seidler] In our thinking and in our Polish parliamentary system, the second chamber was the senate. This chamber was associated with a conservative ideology and represented the interests of the aristocracy. This was what academics (I remember Konstanty Grzybowski's 1946 work, "The Senate, Either Antidemocratic or Unnecessary") and politicians thought of the senate at the beginning of People's Poland.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] The result of this point of view was the fact that the first question of the referendum and the other two were given "yes" answers by the people.

[Prof Seidler] That is true. On 30 June 1946, the people voted against the senate but the percentage of "yes" votes was much lower (68.2 percent of voters) than for the question about Poland's borders (for which the "yes" votes were 94.2 percent). I think that this did not really kill the idea of a second chamber. It is a little-known but signal fact that on 25 June 1946, 5 days before the referendum vote, an appeal to the Polish public which was endorsed by all the political parties read: "In opposing the senate, Polish democracy does not exclude the introduction to the new Constitution of an economic advisory body equal in power to the Sejm."

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Conditions changed and that body was never formed. However, the possible benefits of a two-chamber parliament still exist.

[Prof Seidler] of course. One cannot reject what world science has taught us and it has long seen and spoken about those benefits. Montesquieu said that the second chamber should be the voice of reason and correct the bad decisions the first chamber might make.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] As a deputy, do you think this is true? This would, after all, limit the Sejm's right to make decisions.

[Prof Seidler] Our lives are guided both by reason and emotion. Only computers are guided by pure logic. The deputy's chamber of the Sejm should be a place where different views can clash and struggle. As I see it, the dynamics of a deputy's work is that it can sometimes become highly emotional and when these emotions come into play, reason falls by the wayside. Such cases may be few but they are indeed possible. Therefore, enlightened reason is very necessary if we are to keep the emotions in their proper place. And a second chamber would be that place of reason.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] And what form would it take?

[Prof Seidler] I am not certain but there are four possibilities. The form we choose will be decided by many

factors such as the future character of the Sejm, the adopted provisions of election law, the roster of that second chamber and the eventual powers of a future office of the president.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What are the possibilities?

[Prof Seidler] First, the second chamber could represent regional self-government. It would be voted in by delegations or by the Sejm (as is the Socio-Economic Council) while representatives of macroregions would be voted in by the combined voivodship deputy delegations of all voivodships.

Second, the second chamber could be made up of well-known political, economic and cultural figures and would preserve the character of the old senate in that it would be formed according to other principles of representation. Marshall of the Sejm Stanislaw Car said in 1934 that "the Senate should be an organ that reflects the will of elements with the most influence on the good of the nation." That statement fits this concept like a glove. Here as well, the means by which the representatives are elected could be very different. This is basically a secondary issue.

Third, this chamber could function as a guardian of socialist principles against the decisions of a more dynamic, impassioned, divided and politically pluralistic Sejm.

Fourth, this second chamber could be an advisory organ of the Sejm that could render opinions on its resolutions and laws.

Under all of these variants, the most important thing will be the mutual relationship of the two chambers and the power of the second chamber. It could vary from a simple veto of unconstitutional acts to the outright blocking of Sejm decisions.

However, even if these powers are negligible, the very existence of a second chamber would weaken the former total power of the first chamber. The possibility of criticism of Sejm decisions within a parliamentary setting, the proposal of corrections to the texts of passed legislation and even the temporary delay of its enactment will force deputies to reconsider and maybe take a new look at issues that they have already debated. Even in situations in which the proposed changes are rejected, renewed control over the text of legislation will reduce the possibility of error.

It is also significant that this entire discussion will take place in public view. The public will then become better acquainted with all arguments related to a certain legislative decision and will know more not only about the positions of both chambers but also the specific representatives. Unquestionably, this will also make it easier to realize the socialist concept of a representative's responsibility to his constituents.

**Sejm Self-Management Chamber Debated**  
 26000178b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
 26 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by Krystyna Sonntag: "Does the Sejm Need a Self-Governing Chamber?"]

[Text] Would it be advisable to create within the Sejm a second and self-governing chamber, what would its powers be and how would its members be elected? These are just some of the topics proposed for discussion by the Center for Self-Government Studies at yesterday's conference. The discussion which was attended by many scholars and self-management activists was led by the chairman of the Center's Programs Council and a member of the Council of State, Professor Sylwester Zawadzki.

The point of departure for discussion was two reports. One of these was presented by the Social and Economic Council and stated that the growth up to now of the self-government movement and the degree of advancement of the theory of the future role of self-government in the Polish social, political and economic system do not show any good reasons for forming a second chamber.

The second report, by Bronislaw Wilk, chairman of the worker's council at the Opole Metalchem Works, proposed that a Sejm with a second and self-governing chamber could more fully and efficiently solve social and economic problems.

The discussion produced a diversity of opinions. Many participants questioned the general need for a second chamber, regardless of its nature, and stressed a more fully democratic Sejm election procedure. Others like Professor Leszek Gilejko argued for the creation of the self-governing chamber by saying that the reform process still needs greater public support than can be provided by worker self-management. He also said that a second chamber could become a forum for the diverse interests of important social groups.

This argument was refuted by the self-government activist Andrzej Judek from the Poznan Telettra Works who said that there are so few really active self-management councils that it would be hard to pick representatives from among them. Therefore, the second chamber would be filled only by persons nominally associated with the self-government movement.

**Catholic Weekly Sponsors 'Blank Spots' Competition**

26000162 Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish  
 No 39, 25 Sep 88 p 8

[Article by Jaroslaw Starzyk: "Notes of an Early Retiree: Still So Many Blank Spots"]

[Text] Today there is still such a strong need to fill in the blanks that have somehow flooded our history. But who should do it? Journalists? Not likely, especially since I

recently heard a few very responsible opinions that journalists are guided too much by emotions. The blank spots paint a picture that is too dark and would only criticize things overall, although "things were not all bad." Besides, the press should interest itself in ongoing events, so that a few years from now we will not have blanks in new places. Well then, historians? They are certainly more responsible. Unfortunately, though, first of all we would have to set up various commissions on issues related to filling in the gaps, we would have to travel to various meetings, agree and confer and so on about access to archives to which access had previously been denied, and so on.

In this situation I have come to the conclusion that we should help ourselves. This is why I have decided to announce a competition entitled: "Blank Spots I Have Witnessed." The purpose of such a competition is to collect a large number of personal accounts, testimonies, and memoirs, which may make it possible to gain a closer notion of the truth about various moments in our, as they say, "more difficult" recent history (starting with the end of World War I).

The concept of "blank spots" is not an objective one. A person who, for example, had his land confiscated with the victory of socialism in our country would fill the blank spots in a different way from a person who was in the position of receiving such land from others. What some people call "injustice," "the authorities' volunteerism and arrogance," or "slavery," somebody else may call "social justice," "historical necessity," or "further extension of the process of democratization." Therefore, I would like to emphasize here that my contest will be concerned not with points of view or judgments but simply with facts.

I realize quite well that not everybody fought, conspired, acted, or played a key role on the historical scene, but after all alongside the great "blank spots," there are smaller "blanks," and even tiny little "blank spots," like the one the local milkman told me. Now, in his former place of employment, "Solidarity" demanded a list of people who had received various sorts of privileged goods. (Let me add that this was while the union was still legal). The management supplied such a list, but it turned out that many of the so-called privilege collectors were not on it—for example, the mother-in-law of the company's director. She had received the "allocation" of an automatic washer. Although the milkman had not been there at the time, he knew all about it, because at the director's request he had delivered the machine to the mother-in-law's house, but for the rest of the employees this fact was a "blank spot." In presenting this very trivial example, I do not want to encourage anybody to tell tales about the boss's mother-in-law. I just want to point out that most of my readers have surely come across a "blank spot," large or small, at some time in their lives.

Now to the conditions of the competition: Please send letters describing "Blank spots I witnessed" to GOSC



NIEDZIELNY before 15 December 1988, with "Starzyk's Third Competition" on the envelope. The letters should include a legible signature and the contributor's address, because they will be included in a drawing. (You may add that this personal information is confidential, to be seen only by me). I will write about the letters next week.

**Church Representative Responds to Queries on Association Law**

26000217 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
7 Nov 88 p 6

[Telephone questions directed to Prof Wieslaw Chrzanowski, one of the coauthors of the draft law, representing the church's position, as noted by Maciej Urbaniak: "Comments and Opinions on Associations" under the rubric "RZECZPOSPOLITA's Consultations"; time and place not given]

[Text] As we reported previously, public debate of the new association law shall continue until 30 November and its results will be summed up at a session of the Sociopolitical Committee of the Council of Ministers Planned for the first decade of December.

Concerned persons may send their comments directly to the Sociopolitical Committee of the Council of Ministers, Warsaw, Aleje Ujazdowskie 1/3, or to the Editors of RZECZPOSPOLITA, 00-921 Warsaw, ul. Krucza 36.

Last Friday, 4 November, this newspaper's telephone was manned by Prof Wieslaw Chrzanowski, a coauthor of the draft decree, representing the church's position. This necessarily brief report cannot recount these immensely interesting conversations, so that only the most interesting excerpts from last Friday's conversations are recorded below.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Why does the church want to abolish public service societies?

[Prof Chrzanowski] We don't object to the existence of these societies. What we object to is the exclusive rights granted to these societies in their particular domains, because this violates freedom of association. For that freedom means not only the right to join an already existing organization but also the right to form an association suiting a particular group of individuals.

Were the provision specifying that exclusivity to be dropped and were the decree instead to contain a provision specifying that no organization may have the exclusive right to operate in any particular domain or to associate a particular group of individuals, the issue would no longer matter to us. For at present the criterion of public usefulness is used as the grounds for refusing the registration of new associations, and most of the related refusals refer to that provision. Once that provision is dropped (and we have reached an agreement on this), however, we fear that the exclusive rights conferred by the Council of State might be a substitute form.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] In the light of the draft decree will national minorities be able to associate themselves?

[Prof Chrzanowski] I see no legal obstacles to this. Of course, like any other association, such associations will have to respect Article 1 of the decree.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Article 33 of the draft decree specifies that the assets of an association consist of, among other things, bequests and donations. If, say, it is a foreign donation from an organization hostile to Poland, does the State have the possibility of preventing its acceptance? The draft decree says nothing about this.

[Prof Chrzanowski] Pursuant to the Civil Law Code, the acceptance of a donation by a legal entity other than the State requires consent of an administrative body. With respect to the situation you outline, such consent simply shall not be granted.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Will not the postponement of the provision concerning denominational unions result in disparities of the laws in force? Should not the decree on associations be postponed until this matter, too, is settled?

[Prof Chrzanowski] Heretofore the status of denominational unions has been regulated by separate decrees for discrete unions. Such decrees exist for the Evangelical, Russian Orthodox, Mariawite, and Islamic churches. So far the status of the Catholic Church still has not been settled, but work on it is continuing—with the proviso that, on the grounds of historical events and its traditionally grounded doctrine, the Catholic Church also is not subject to the law on associations. On the other hand, there exists a large number of unions, some of them so small as to associate a dozen or so persons, whose status is unsettled and to which the Law of 1932 is provisionally applied. After the new decree becomes effective, their legal status will remain unchanged, at least until it is settled by new general regulations in the future.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] I am a student at the Catholic University of Lublin and, together with my fellow students, I want to establish a group for the protection of the lives of unborn children. Do we have a chance for getting registered?

[Prof Chrzanowski] In the light of the draft decree this should be no problem. In the present legal situation, on the other hand, the government has the right to determine whether the existence of an organization is socially useful.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] And when will that new decree become effective?

[Prof Chrzanowski] That is a question of several more months. I thus suggest that you apply even now for registration. I think that you have a chance.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] I am aware that a decree on political parties exists only in the FRG. But during the period of Polish restructuring ["perestroika"] should not the church ask that a similar decree be introduced in Poland?

[Prof Chrzanowski] The drafting of such a decree is being considered. However, according to the binding historically evolved view, political parties are not subject to the law on associations.

**Ethnic Minorities Seek Roundtable Voice**  
26000160a Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY  
in Polish No 44, 30 Oct 88 p 2

[Statement signed by Michal Lesiow, Włodzimierz Mokry, and Stefan Kozak, members, Ukrainian Nationality Group; Jerzy Turonek, member, Belorussian Nationality Group; and Bronislaw Makowski, member, Lithuanian Nationality Group: "Statement on Minorities"]

[Text] In connection with the announcement of a roundtable in Warsaw and the fact that it would include no representatives for Poland's ethnic minorities, we are issuing an appeal that these discussions in Warsaw include the problems of ethnic minorities.

The formula for the roundtable precludes the banning of any forbidden topics and we therefore hope that the introduction of the problem of the political and cultural rights of ethnic minorities will not be opposed or prevented by public officials. The government's readiness for open discussion of all of Poland's problems with no limitations has created a new opportunity to examine one of the most neglected, painful and shameful problems of postwar Poland.

We wish to point out the continually worsening political and cultural position of ethnic minorities in Poland. [censored material] (Law of 3 July 1981 on control of publications and public performances, article 2, points 2 and 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, item pp, amended 1983 and DZIENNIK USTAW, No 44, item 204)). Although Poland's minority problem is incomparably smaller than it was during the Second Republic, it is still an urgent matter for several hundred thousand Polish citizens. Their aspirations have been ignored not only by public officials but unfortunately, also by social leaders who have in recent years made special efforts to fully emancipate Polish society and democratize the Polish political system. In the government and public plans for political reform that we have seen, there is presently nothing that gives Poland's ethnic minorities any faith or hope for a better political or cultural future.

Any substantial improvement in the position of national minorities requires structural reform. Up to now, the fate of Poland's minorities was set by a policy according to which Poland was to be regarded as a country of unified nationality and that the problem of minorities

had been definitively resolved. The present position of national minorities in Poland and their needs dictate the following important changes:

- 1) A change in the essentially Stalinist model of minority social and cultural associations;
- 2) A change in the way national minorities, their culture and history are portrayed by the Polish mass media and educational institutions which propagate negative stereotypes or ignore the existence of the minorities;
- 3) Fundamental reform of minority education in Poland which for many years has been a failure and is undergoing a crisis;
- 4) Minority access to institutions allowing them to state and defend their interests;
- 5) Creation of political institutions whose goal is to oversee the fulfillment of international documents on minority rights that were signed by Poland.

These proposed changes constitute a general outline for political reform for minorities in Poland.

In Polish society and even within opposition groups, there is a critical lack of understanding of the real political, cultural, economic and religious problems of national minorities. Furthermore, many groups are subject to numerous harmful myths and prejudices that could soon become a stronger hindrance to minority participation in public life than official policy.

In many parts of Poland, persons of non-Polish ethnic origin feel compelled to hide their true identity and this is a sign of strong ethnic tensions. As the country grows more democratic, the burden of political responsibility for this state of affairs will shift from the government to the people who will be enjoying ever greater political autonomy and freedom. This view was formulated much earlier and more sharply by Poles themselves on the pages of the Lublin newspaper, SPOTKANIA, and other opposition papers as well as in Catholic publications.

We wish to express our sincere hope that these remarks will be considered during the roundtable meeting.

**Reporting on Kurapaty, Nationalities of Victims Raised**

26000206 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish  
No 44, 29 Oct 88 p 13

[Article by Slawomir Popowski: "The Truth About Kurapaty"]

[Text] That was a real shock. A recent issue of the weekly OGONYOK contained a picture of the remains of victims executed by the NKVD and buried in a forest near Minsk in a place called Kurapaty by the local residents. Several score human skeletons lay in a level row. In the

discussion of Stalinism that is under way this one picture means more than an entire series of serious articles attempting to balance with a pharmacist's precision the accomplishments and tragedies of that period. For while it is true that of late much has been said about Stalinist repressions, that was in words only. Here in Kurapaty, on this one photograph, Stalinism is presented in the most concrete, almost tangible manner.

First let us recall that several months ago POLITYKA had published excerpts from a shocking article that has nowadays gained wide publicity in the Soviet Union, "Kurapaty—The Road of Death." Its authors, the archeologist Zenon Pozhnyak and Yavhyen Shmygalov, had become interested as far back as in the 1970's in the accounts of certain witnesses from the Tsna-Yedkova, Drozdovo, Zelony Lug, and Zelenovka villages near Minsk, who talked about strange happenings in the nearby forest.

In 1937, a 3 meters tall wooden fence topped with barbed wire had been installed there. It separated an area of about 10-15 hectares from the remaining forest. For 5 years in a row, from 1937 until 1941 and the outbreak of the war, each day and night, shots, the roar of engines, and the barking of dogs could be heard from there. People who approached it more closely also heard human cries and moans. And the bravest ones, who had in secret succeeded in getting through the fence and survived their bravery, saw functionaries in NKVD uniforms execute by shooting successive groups of the condemned.

In the years 1987-88 Pozhnyak and Shmygalov commenced to gather more systematically the testimonies and narratives of witnesses to the crime perpetrated in Kurapaty. Altogether these testimonies totaled several score, and at present more than 170 could be collected and verified. These data as well as the results of preliminary terrain studies and the exhumation of several collective graves, were used to recreate a picture of that mass murder, presented broadly together with the shocking narratives of the witnesses in the aforementioned article published in the Belorussian-language periodical LITERATURA I MASTATSTVA.

How did it happen that the account by Z. Pozhnyak and Ye. Shmygalov saw the light of day? The story of how it happened itself deserves attention and narration, if only for purposes of admonition. Suffice it to say that as late as last spring (the article was finally published on 6 June) the "forces of stagnation," as Z. Pozhnyak enigmatically terms them, again made themselves known. They tried to prevent at any price the publication of that article. Ultimately, they had to lose. What matters most is that, once it was raised and made public, the issue of the crime in Kurapaty began to live a life of its own.

Some 2 weeks following the publication of the article by the two Belorussian authors a special government commission was formed in Minsk to elucidate all the circumstances of the crimes perpetrated in the Kurapaty Forest.

At the same time the republic procurature appointed a special investigating team headed by Special Investigator Ye. Brolishs and requested the Belorussian Institute of History to delegate a team of archeologists for taking part in the exhumation and studies of the graves in Kurapaty. A member of that second, three-person, team was Zenon Pozhnyak.

Both teams commenced their work in the terrain on 6 July of this year. Their investigations lasted an entire week and, as ensues from the articles published so far in the press, they confirmed what had been earlier and long ago narrated by the residents of the neighboring villages.

The investigation was of an absolutely preliminary nature. Only a few of the 510 collective graves uncovered so far were exhumed, but even so, a tremendous amount of material for scientific study and analysis was collected. Above all, the fact itself of the conduct of mass executions by Stalinist hangmen on that site was proved. The number of the victims murdered there reaches thousands.

All the excavated graves were filled with sand at the top, as stated last September in LITERATURA I MASTATSTVA by Zenon Pozhnyak when presenting the results of the by then official investigation. It was only at a depth of 2 meters and below that human bones and skulls and the remains of footwear and clothing were uncovered. Beginning with 1 meter, bones were found near the walls of the grave, and the deeper the excavation the broader their layer was. In the opinion of the archeologists, this points to a previous exhumation that had, though, been done negligently and unskillfully.

Thus, the investigation by the archeologists corroborated previous testimonies of witnesses who said that once before the graves in Kurapaty had been excavated. Perhaps then the local residents were telling the truth when they said that in the immediate postwar years they had seen soldiers excavate the graves in Kurapaty. Apparently, someone was concerned about obliterating these traces.

#### The Spent Cartridges Leave No Doubts

The second exhumation of the graves revealed the presence of 312 skulls. Most of them had bullet holes in the back of the head. Often a single skull was found to contain two or three such holes, and in some skulls the bullet holes were present in the side of the head. It may be that some of the victims resisted, tried to save themselves, and then were shot fortuitously, but it also is possible that this was a kind of identifying sign, the "signature" of the killer. As Z. Pozhnyak stated in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, this is implied by the testimony of one witness, Mikolay Karpovich, a resident of Tsna Village, who at the age of 18 had seen with his own eyes how the shootings were conducted—from rifles, but from a side rather than at the back of the head. The prisoners were placed in pairs at the pit's edge, their



mouths were gagged, and then the killer approached them sidewise and fired so that a single bullet would kill two prisoners at once, to conserve bullets. Thereupon the pair were pushed into the pit and the same procedure was repeated with the next pair.

In addition, the projectile and bullet casings found leave not the least doubt as to the identity of the killers. Altogether about 200 spent cartridges from the "Nagan" type of Soviet revolver and one cartridge from a "Ti" pistol were found. In addition several score bullets, some of them present in skulls, were excavated. The diameters of the bullets and bullet casings were in exact accord with the diameters of the holes in the skulls.

One other major observation: in a majority of the skulls found the holes in the frontal part were larger, with a diameter of 5-6 cm, and their edges were ragged. In the opinion of the experts participating in the investigation, this indicates that the condemned were killed by placing the barrel of the "Nagan" directly in contact with their heads.

In this place let us add one other fact. The skulls found included many female skulls. As Z. Pozhnyak reports, in one of the already previously excavated graves 35 skulls were found; 10 were selected for investigation, and eight were found to be skulls of women.

This preliminary investigation served to determine, so to speak, the geography and chronology of the graves in Kurapaty. The executions commenced in the eastern part of the area and the graves found there originate from the years 1937-38. This is demonstrated by the remains of clothing and footwear excavated from these graves. The objects found there were exclusively of Soviet manufacture. The best preserved was the footwear fashioned by the homemade method from automobile tires and inner tubes. A majority of the factory-made footwear was already worn and repeatedly patched and repaired. Many primitive leather clogs, the so-called khodaks, also were found. There is no doubt that that footwear belonged to the poorest people—peasants and perhaps also workers. Much indicates that members of the local population had been executed. Passing a sentence was not difficult. The local authorities also had been assigned quotas from the "top" for eliminating "enemies of the people," as has since been made public and proved. And these quotas had to be fulfilled and, better yet, surpassed. There was no shortage of informers, since, as a witness had written Z. Pozhnyak, for every denounced "enemy of the people" the NKVD paid 15 rubles, in terms of the present purchasing power of the currency, out of a special fund for informers.

#### The Bowl With a White Tracing

But in Kurapaty there also exist other graves, which require an extremely accurate investigation.

According to Z. Pozhnyak in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, "Farther to the east and southeast there are

the graves of 1939 and those after 1939. They contain chiefly remains of refugees from western Belorussia (i.e., from territories annexed by the USSR after 17 September 1939—S. P.). In Excavation No 5 the greatest number of articles typical of members of the intelligentsia stratum was found. There were many toilet kits, eyeglasses, monocles, medicines, etc. The footwear found there was of high quality, and often custom-made. Ladies' high-heeled shoes and leather gloves were found."

Analysis of the personal belongings excavated provides, the Belorussian archeologist continued, considerable information about the murdered victims. These are chiefly the remains of representatives of the local population, but not only of these. Many objects undoubtedly belonging to the peasants and intelligentsia of western Belorussia also were found. There also exist many proofs that many of the victims came from the Baltic countries. A grave of 1940 was found to contain the remains of galoshes bearing the trademark of a Riga factory and 1939 as the date of production. At the time there was no trade in galoshes with Latvia.

Noteworthy is one other essential detail: Some of the items found in the graves—clothing and footwear—were carefully folded and arranged. Remains of the food undoubtedly carried by the victims also were found, along with several wallets. From all these traces it was concluded that the people to whom these objects had belonged were prepared for a long journey, that they left their homes shortly before their death, and that they had not been previously detained in prisons. This means that, to use Stalinist terminology, they were liquidated, that is, shot dead without a trial, en route. Did they include deportees from Western Belorussia? And if yes, who were they?

In this place I have to quote a very personal passage from the September article by Z. Pozhnyak which was recently discussed extensively, with quotations, by the Lithuanian KRASNYY SHTANDAR [or whatever the Lithuanian name is], No 228, 2 October. Zenon Pozhnyak states, "Just as I recall today my native home—the spoon with which I ate, the gold-rimmed white porcelain service, the mug with the inscription 'Warszawa,' the bright blue bowl with a white teapot painted on the bottom and the inscription '20 cm.' I remember Grandmother's voice, 'But where is that blue bowl?'"

"Now I am at Grave No 8. I carefully clear sand from an enameled blue bowl lying on the hipbones of a skeleton. I turn it over, glance at the inscription, and put it back where it had lain: ... bright-blue enamel and a white teapot painted on the bottom... And the letters '20 cm.' I feel the sudden silence and only the pines rustle above the graves."

#### How Many More Graves?

The Belorussian historians-archeologists already transmitted to the republic procurature their report on the

preliminary investigation in Kurapaty. Their estimates are "absolute": from the measurements and analyses conducted it ensues that the investigated graves contain on an average of 200 victims each. Since 510 such graves have been excavated, elementary multiplication points to the probable number of victims murdered in Kurapaty. They numbered at least 102,000! The entire area has not yet been investigated. About 100 graves were destroyed, covered up, and leveled during the construction of a gas pipeline and owing to forest clearings, and even earlier during the construction of a circular trolley line around Minsk.

It can thus be assumed that the actual number of those executed there by the NKVD was much higher. Let us also add that, as ensues from credible testimonies by witnesses which are currently being verified, Kurapaty was not the only site of mass executions. Much indicates that near Minsk alone there were five such sites. How many other Kurapatys exist in other republics, in cities and towns, let alone the "Gulag capitals" near Magadan, Vorkuta, Dudinka, and Norilsk? This question, asked in OGONYOK by Aleks Adamovich—in the same issue

that had published the photograph mentioned here—still remains unanswered.

The formation of a government commission for Kurapaty in Minsk was followed by a mass rally. Those present ardently protested against the procedure by which the members of that commission were appointed. Demands were made that Vasyl Bykov, a writer whose sincerity and objectivity are believed in, be included in the membership of that commission. Thousands of residents of Minsk and neighboring villages proceeded to the Kurapaty Forest carrying banners with the inscription "Stalin the Executioner," with old women bearing candles. Another demand was that not just an ordinary monument but a memorial research center devoted to the memory of the victims of Stalinism and Stalinist repressions be erected in Kurapaty. By now one thing is certain: the truth about Kurapaty can never be concealed, as Z. Pozhnyak wrote. This applies to any such crime besides. Even if traces are obliterated, documents made to disappear and archives closed, the remains of thousands and millions are harbored under the ground.

## POLAND

### Resolution, Publication of Amended Law on Wages

26000141 Warsaw *DZIENNIK USTAW* in Polish  
No 28, Item No 196, 24 Aug 88 pp 429-434

[Law dated 26 January 1984: "On Principles for Creating Plant Remuneration Systems, Appendix to Proclamation of the Minister of Labor and Social Policy, dated 15 August 1988, 'On Publication of a Uniform Text of the Law Dated 26 January 1984, entitled On Principles for Creating Plant Remuneration Systems'"]

#### [Excerpts]

#### Appendix to Proclamation of the Minister of Labor and Social Policy Dated 15 August 1988 (Item 196)

[Passage omitted] In order to permit places of employment to establish independently the principles of remunerating employees by utilizing the results of job assessment and modern work management methods and techniques, and also in order to link remuneration more directly to the results of work and the quality of production and services, it is hereby resolved as follows:

#### Chapter 1. General Regulations

Article 1. 1. With the exception of Paragraphs 3 and 4, the law specifies the principles by which the following may create plant remuneration systems:

- 1) state enterprises,
- 2) the "Polish Radio and Television" state organizational unit,
- 3) the "Polish Post Office, Telegraph, and Telephone State" organizational unit,
- 4) organizational cooperative units operating under economic accountability,
- 5) commercial companies which are involved in the State Treasury or other units of the socialized economy,
- 6) social organization units conducting economic activity,
- 7) research and development units and other units of a scholarly research nature, except those that are budget-financed units, all of which are hereinafter designated by the term "places of employment."

1. 2. Organizational units which prior to 1 July 1988, used a plant remuneration system but were not authorized by law to create them, retain the authority to create the plant remuneration systems mentioned in Chapter 2.

1. 3. No plant undergoing bankruptcy proceedings or facing closure may introduce the plant remuneration system mentioned in Chapter 2.

1. 4. Regulations concerning the plant remuneration system discussed in Chapter 3 do not apply to the following places of employment:

- 1) state enterprises or other state organizational units in the
  - a) Hard Coal Group (WWK), if the units are included in an agreement involving the branch remuneration understanding in coal industry enterprises,
  - b) Power Industry and Lignite Group (WEiWB), if the units are included in an understanding involving the branch remuneration system in the power industry,
- 2) chemical raw materials mining and ore enterprises,
- 3) Polish Petroleum Mining and Gas Industry (PGNiG) enterprises,
- 4) the Polish State Railways (PKP) state enterprise with reference to employees engaged in public rail transportation,
- 5) state health spa enterprises,
- 6) health spa treatment facilities conducted by places of employment on the basis of permits issued under separate regulations,
- 7) enterprises under the State Forests ("Lasy Państwowe") economic organization.

1. 5. By way of an ordinance, in cooperation with the nationwide interunion organization, the Council of Ministers may extend the principles of the law to places of employment not mentioned in Paragraph 1, provided that they conduct economic activity and have the funds for remuneration and benefits developed according to the self-financing principle, in keeping with the nature of these plants.

1. 6. By way of an ordinance, in cooperation with the nationwide interunion organization, the Council of Ministers determines the principles for remunerating plant managers and acting plant managers, keeping in mind Paragraph 7.

1. 7. The regulation of Paragraph 6 applies to the plants mentioned in Paragraph 1, Points 4, 5, and 7, if they have had on a plant remuneration system.

#### Article 2. Wherever the law refers to:

- 1) "the lowest wage," this means the lowest remuneration effective as of 1 January of a given year, as



specified by the Council of Ministers, based on the Labor Code,

2) "collective work agreement," this means a collective work agreement entered into after 31 December 1986,

3) "previous collective work agreement," this means a collective work agreement entered into prior to 1 January 1987,

4) "understanding," this means a plant remuneration system in a place of employment that is not under a collective work agreement entered into on the basis of the regulations of Chapter 2,

5) "plant collective contract," this means a plant collective contract entered into in the sense of the regulations of the Labor Code,

6) "previous regulations," this means

a) the provisions concerning branch benefits and other remuneration regulations that have been in effect in the places of employment, along with branch benefit regulations and other remuneration, prior to the day of implementation of the agreement,

b) provisions of the understanding.

Article 3. 1. A place of employment not included in a collective work agreement may introduce the plant remuneration system which is mentioned in Chapter 2.

3. 2. A place of employment included in a collective work agreement introduces the plant remuneration system mentioned in Chapter 3.

Article 4. 1. The plant remuneration system establishes the job related benefits and remuneration, taking into consideration the plants financial situation, including factors involving the size of the funds for remuneration and benefits developed in keeping with the self-financing principle.

4. 2. The plant remuneration system may specify which principles of employee remuneration and granting other job related benefits are to be in effect in times of plant financial difficulty, especially when the plant loses its credit standing and in other instances which the parties so specify.

#### Chapter 2. Plant Remuneration System in a Place of Employment Not Under a Collective Work Agreement.

Article 5. A place of employment may introduce a plant remuneration system, if it has the funds for remuneration and benefits developed according to the self-financing principle and the funds are sufficient to finance the obligations stemming from the understanding entered into in keeping with Article 6.

Article 6. 1. A plant remuneration system, as provided for in the law, is introduced in the form of an understanding.

6. 2. The understanding is entered into by appropriate body of the plant union organization, on one side, and the plant management, after seeking the advice of the employee council (workers council) and gaining acceptance at a general meeting of employees (delegates), on the other side.

6. 3. The way of obtaining acceptance, as mentioned in Paragraph 2, may be determined by the parties entering into the understanding together with the employee council.

6. 4. In a place of employment which does not have self-management bodies in operation, the bodies mentioned in Paragraph 2 enter into the agreement after obtaining the acceptance of a majority of the workforce. The regulation in Paragraph 3 is applicable in this regard.

6. 5. Amendments to the understanding are implemented through additional protocols to the understanding, in the manner prescribed for entering into the understanding.

6. 6. The understanding may provide that plant remuneration system amendments introduced as a result of a rise in the minimum wage or increases in amounts in the wage components established in the agreement do not require that the acceptance mentioned in Paragraphs 2 and 4 need to be obtained.

Article 7. 1. The understanding specifies the principles for remunerating plant employees according to the conditions specified in the law: the subjective period of the understanding may be expanded to include other elements concerning the activity conducted by the plant, as well as to include the employees' working, living, and cultural conditions, in keeping with separate regulations in effect in this area and provisions of the collective work agreement.

7. 2. With the exception of Paragraphs 3 and 4, the understanding is binding on all employees employed by the plant, unless the parties to the understanding have specified otherwise.

7. 3. In the section concerning the principles for remuneration, the understanding cannot include

1) the plant's director or its acting director,

2) employees of plant schools or plant educational, training, formation, or formation and development facilities, to which the regulations of the law dated 26 January 1982, the Teacher's Charter, apply (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 3, Item 19; No 25, Item 187; and No 31, Item 214, along with 1983: No 5, Item 33).

3) fire-fighting personnel,

4) young employees which the plant employs for the purpose of their vocational education, during the first and second years of training, or for additional training to perform a specific job.

7. 4. Employees of plant facilities for the dissemination of culture who are employed in the plant may be included in the understanding in instances specified in separate regulations.

Article 8. 1. The understanding may be effectively dissolved at the end of a calendar year

1) with the approval of the parties,

2) upon the issuance of a statement in writing by one of the parties, with prior notice of at least 3 months.

8. 2. Before the understanding is dissolved, the plant director must ask the employees (workers') council for its opinion and obtain approval at a general meeting of employees (delegates).

8. 3. In a place of employment which does not have self-management bodies in operation, the plant director must obtain the approval of a majority of the employees prior to dissolving the understanding.

8. 4. The approval discussed in Paragraphs 2 and 3 is not required, if, in the manner described in a separate law, proceedings have been initiated to improve the running of the plant.

8. 5. The previous understanding remains in effect until a new understanding is entered into.

8. 6. The regulation of Paragraph 5 does not apply, if the parties state that they do not intend to enter into a new understanding.

8. 7. In the case mentioned in Paragraph 6, the previous regulations apply, taking into consideration the changes in remuneration principles which the Council of Ministers implemented on the basis of the Labor Code. The regulation of Article 24 applies as appropriate.

Article 9. 1. In keeping with the regulations of Article 4, within the framework of the understanding, the plant conducts its plant wage policy independently and also establishes its qualification steps, in keeping with the regulations on the principles for evaluating jobs, and it establishes the components and forms of remuneration, as well as the principles for awarding it and determining its levels.

9. 2. The principles of remuneration and the level of remuneration should correspond to the type, quantity, and quality of work, and the forms of remuneration should correspond to the type of activity the plant conducts and to the conditions under which the work is performed.

9. 3. Taking into consideration the plant's organizational and technical circumstances, the understanding should provide incentives for

1) applying within the plant those forms of organization and remuneration which encourage improved productivity and quality of work performed, including the use of group work management,

2) making use of employee qualifications so that the employees perform various types of work (multiple vocational abilities),

3) conducting work on several shifts,

4) adopting internal accounting and using the results in setting remuneration levels.

Article 10. For his work an employee is entitled to basic remuneration resulting from the category ranking and remuneration rate assigned and the remuneration components provided for in the law, as well as to other remuneration components established by the understanding.

Article 11. 1. The rates of basic remuneration corresponding to the category rankings are set in plant tables. These rates may have a tree (branched) format.

11. 2. In the lower category rankings, the basic remuneration rate may not be lower than the lowest wage.

11. 3. The differences in basic remuneration expressed as the ratio of the rate in the lowest category ranking to the rate in the highest may not be less than the following:

1) 1 to 1.6 in basic remuneration rate tables for blue-collar positions,

2) 1 to 3 in basic remuneration rate tables for positions other than blue-collar positions.

11. 4. The regulation in Paragraph 3 applies accordingly in the event the basic remuneration rates are set in a branched structure or more than a single rate of such remuneration is set in the various ranking categories in some other way.

11. 5. By way of an ordinance, the Council of Ministers may increase the spread of the rates as set in Paragraph 3.

11. 6. The regulations of Paragraphs 1-5 do not apply if the plant implements basic remuneration rate tables based on job audits as specified in separate regulations.

Article 12. The principles and criteria for granting awards or bonuses specified in the understanding should encourage employees or employee groups to carry out specific tasks increasing the effectiveness of plant operation and, in particular, should help improve the quality of production and services.

Article 13. 1. The understanding may award an employee a functional supplement for performing managerial duties, in the cases and under the conditions specified in previous regulations, taking into account Paragraphs 2-5.

13. 2. There may not be more than 10 levels for the functional supplement.

13. 3. The spread of functional supplement rates expressed as the ratio of the rate for the first level supplement to the rate for the highest level supplement may not be less than 1 to 10.

13. 4. The regulation of Paragraph 3 applies as appropriate in the event the functional supplement rate is set in a branched scheme or in the event that more than one rate of such a supplement is established for the various levels.

13. 5. The monthly rate of the functional supplement may not exceed 300 percent of the lowest wage.

13. 6. The understanding may establish that an employee working in a position other than a managerial one is entitled to the functional supplement, if he directs a group of employees created for the period that a specific job is being performed.

Article 14. In the cases and under the conditions specified under the previous regulations, with consideration given to Articles 15-17, an employee is entitled to supplementary remuneration for work performed:

1) on overtime;

2) at night;

3) under conditions deleterious to health, especially under tedious or dangerous conditions.

Article 15. Additional remuneration for overtime work may not be less overall than

1) For work during the first two hours overtime per day: 50 percent of the hourly rate at the lowest level of remuneration.

2) For further work done on overtime, or for overtime hours during the night, on Sundays and holidays, and on additional free days introduced in regulations issued by the Council of Ministers on the basis of the Labor Code: 100 percent of the hourly rate at the lowest level of remuneration.

Article 16. The understanding specifies the amount of additional remuneration for work at night.

Article 17. 1. The understanding specifies the amount of additional remuneration for work under conditions deleterious to health, especially under tedious or dangerous conditions.

17. 2. The additional remuneration discussed in Paragraph 1 is established in keeping with the divisions into groups (grades) of harmfulness, tediousness, and danger established in the previous regulations.

Article 18. The understanding may adopt a remuneration lower than that specified in Article 81, Paragraphs 2-4 of the Labor Code as the basis for calculating remuneration for the time during work stoppages for which the employee is not responsible, but not lower than the lowest level of remuneration.

Article 19. 1. The agreement may introduce a supplement for seniority

1) in the cases and under the conditions specified in the previous regulations, taking into account Paragraphs 2-4, or

2) in a given plant, or

3) in a given plant, taking into account the previous periods of employment.

19. 2. The lowest remuneration is the basis for awarding supplements for seniority, as discussed in Paragraph 1, Point 1.

19. 3. To the employment period required to merit a seniority supplement are added periods of prior employment in

1) socialized places of employment, as referred to in the Labor Code,

2) in private places of employment which have been nationalized or taken over by socialized places of employment, as referred to in the Labor Code, including periods of employment terminated by the ending of the employment relationship as the result of the employee's quitting or resigning without giving notice.

19. 4. The understanding may establish that the supplement for seniority increases in periods shorter than those specified in the previous regulations, but not more



frequently than once per year, provided that the minimum and maximum working periods required to merit this supplement and the percentage sizes of the seniority supplement provided in the previous regulations are maintained.

19. 5. If the understanding establishes the right to a seniority supplement in a given place of employment,

1) seniority includes only the period of employment in that place of employment, except that the minimum period of seniority in a given year is 1 year,

2) the employee is entitled to a supplement for this seniority at the end of the period after which, according to the principles specified in the previous regulations, he is first entitled to the seniority supplement,

3) except for the regulation in Point 2, the previous regulations setting the periods for entitlement to a supplement for seniority and the percentage sizes of the supplement corresponding to those periods, including the maximums, are no longer in effect.

19. 6. An agreement specifying the principles for paying a supplement for seniority in a given place of employment may establish

1) the percentage size of the supplement up to 1.5 percent of the base upon which it is based for the work year,

2) a higher basis for determining the supplement than that specified in Paragraph 2.

19. 7. In the event a seniority supplement in the sense of Paragraph 1, Point 3 is introduced into the understanding

1) while Paragraph 1 and Paragraph 6, Point 1 are still observed, the previous employment periods and the period of employment in the given place of employment are kept separate in establishing the percentage size of the seniority supplement, and calculations are based on full years of work,

2) in calculating the time worked in a given plant for the whole period serving as the basis for authorizing a seniority supplement in the given plant, the period of employment in that plant is treated as equal to the prior periods of employment,

3) the calculation of the seniority supplement is based on

a) for the period of prior employment—the lowest remuneration,

b) for the period of employment in the given plant—the seniority basis specified in the understanding.

19. 8. The understanding may establish that an employee is entitled to the supplement mentioned in Paragraph 1, Point 1, if the amount of the supplement would be higher than the amount of the supplement calculated according to the principles set forth in Paragraph 7.

Article 20. 1. The understanding may introduce an anniversary award in the cases and under the conditions specified in previous regulations, while observing Paragraphs 2-9.

20. 2. The amount of the anniversary award after 10 years of work is 100 percent of the basis and is increased by 50 percent of it for each successive 5-year period of work, and, beginning with the 25th anniversary, by 100 percent of this basis; the award applies after the period of work established in the previous regulations has been completed, and in the event provided for in Paragraph 3, at the end of the period set in the understanding.

20. 3. The understanding may establish that the minimum employment period required to merit an anniversary award is 15 years and that an award is earned for each additional 5 years of work; the amount of the award is established in accordance with Paragraph 2.

20. 4. The size of the anniversary award is based on the lowest remuneration in effect on the day the right to the award is earned.

20. 5. The principles for establishing work periods and other periods entitling the employee to an anniversary award and the principles of paying it are as defined in generally applicable regulations.

20. 6. The understanding may establish that a remuneration level higher than the lowest level of remuneration will be used as a basis for determining the size of the anniversary awards for years worked in a given plant for employees who have worked in the plant at least 5 years; only the period of employment in that plant is included in plant seniority.

20. 7. In the event that the understanding adopts the principles implied in Paragraph 6

1) the percentage calculation of the anniversary award takes into account both the period prior to employment in the given plant and the period of employment in the given plant,

2) the amount of the anniversary award is based

a) for the period prior to undertaking employment in the given plant—on the lowest remuneration,

b) for the period of employment in the given plant, if the period is not less than 5 years—on the anniversary award basis specified in the understanding.

20. 8. The understanding may establish that if an anniversary award based on the agreement is lower than the award that would apply on the basis of the previous regulations, any employee who has earned the right to an anniversary prior to the day the understanding goes into effect will be compensated for this fact. An anniversary award which would have been granted under the previous regulations is based on the remuneration paid to the employee before the day the understanding goes into effect and is calculated as the equivalent of vacation leave.

20. 9. For a part-time employee, the award is calculated in proportion to the amount of working time established in the labor contract.

Article 21. 1. An employee is entitled to a cash lump sum payment based on the lowest remuneration, in connection with going on disability pension or retirement.

21. 2. A cash lump sum is awarded after the period established in the understanding has been worked. This period is established as a multiple of 5 years of work, except that the minimum employment period required after gaining the right to a lump sum payment may not be less than 10 years.

21. 3. The understanding may establish that the minimum period of employment necessary to gain the right to a lump sum payment may be shorter than 10 years, if prior regulations provide for a lump sum payment after that period has been work. In this case, the regulation of Paragraph 2 applies as appropriate, except that the next period of employment may not be less than 10 years.

21. 4. In establishing periods of work and other periods authorizing the payment of a lump sum and the principles for paying it, the regulation of Article 20, Paragraph 5 applies.

21. 5. The lump sum payment after 10 years of work amounts to 100 percent of the lowest remuneration and increases at the end of each successive 5 years of work by 50 percent, and beginning with 25 years of work, by 100 percent of that remuneration. In the case mentioned in Paragraph 3, the size of the cash lump sum paid is 100 percent of the lowest remuneration.

21. 6. An employee is entitled to a single lump sum cash payment amounting to 100 percent of the lowest remuneration, despite the fact that he has not worked the minimum period required to be eligible for the lump sum payment, if his going on disability pension was the result of a work-related accident or illness.

21. 7. The understanding may establish that if the cash payment which applies on the basis of the understanding is lower than that which would apply on the basis of the previous regulations, any employee employed in the plant on the day the understanding goes into effect will

be compensated for the difference. In establishing the size of the cash lump sum payment which would apply under the previous regulations, one of the following is taken into account:

1) the remuneration paid to the employee prior to the day the understanding goes into effect, calculated according to the principles specified in the regulations, or

2) the amount of the lump sum specified in the regulations.

21. 8. The understanding may set a basis higher than the lowest remuneration in calculating the cash lump sum for years worked for an employee who has worked in the plant for at least 5 years; only the period of employment in the plant is counted in plant seniority calculations.

21. 9. If the understanding adopts the principles in the regulation of Paragraph 8, then the regulations of Article 20, Paragraph 7 apply as appropriate.

21. 10. A part-time employee's cash lump sum payment is calculated in proportion to the amount of work time specified in the labor contract.

Article 22. 1. The understanding may not introduce work-related benefits other than those specified in previous regulations or extend the scope of their application. This applies in particular to allowances and other benefits in kind and to cash equivalents in place of these allowances and benefits. Benefits may be issued or paid only in the amounts and according to the principles specified in previous regulations.

22. 2. The understanding may not renounce in toto or in part the application of allowances and other benefits in kind or cash equivalents in exchange for these allowances and benefits or otherwise limit entitlements to such allowances, equivalents, or benefits or assign the funds allocated for them to increase remuneration related to labor production.

22. 3. The regulations of Paragraphs 1 and 2 do not apply to regenerative meals and food issued to the employee free of charge or at reduced prices, if separate regulations call for provision of such meals or food, owing to the nature of the work or the conditions under which it is performed.

Article 23. During the period specified in the law, the understanding replaces the corresponding remuneration regulations, including the regulations of Article 81, Paragraphs 2-4 and Article 134, Paragraph 1 of the Labor Code and provisions relating to collective work agreements and regulations on industrial branch benefits.

Article 24. The day it goes into effect, the understanding replaces the corresponding previous regulations' conditions of labor contracts and other documents upon which the employment relationship are based.

Article 25. 1. The understanding goes into effect on the day specified in the understanding, but not until the day it is signed.

25. 2. The content of the understanding will be explained jointly by the parties who entered into the understanding.

25. 3. The plant is obligated to make the text of the understanding available to the employees and to explain the content.

Article 26. 1. In a place of employment with no plant union organization in operation, the remuneration system provided for in the law may be introduced by the director of that plant in the form of a set of rules and regulations. These regulations concerning understandings apply to the set of rules and regulations as appropriate.

26. 2. The day a plant union organization begins operations, the set of rules and regulations mentioned in Paragraph 1 is legally amended in the understanding, and the appropriate body of the plant union organization becomes one of the parties.

#### Chapter 3. Plant Remuneration System in a Place of Employment Included in a Collective Work Agreement

Article 27. After the day a collective work agreement goes into effect in a plant, that plant included in a collective work agreement introduces a plant remuneration system through a plant collective contract after meeting the conditions specified in the law, the Labor Code, and the collective work agreement.

Article 28. 1. While respecting the regulations in Article 4, the plant conducts the plant wage policy on the basis of the collective work agreement and the plant collective contract.

28. 2. The plant collective contract describes the plant remuneration system, taking into account as appropriate the regulations of Article 6, Paragraph 6; Article 7, Paragraph 3; Article 9, Article 11, Article 12, Article 13, Paragraph 5; Article 19, Paragraphs 1, 3 and 5-8; Article 20, Paragraphs 6, 7, and 9; and Article 21, Paragraphs 8-10.

Article 29. 1. The plant remuneration system includes remuneration as provided for in the collective work agreement, along with other work-related benefits.

29. 2. The plant remuneration system may also introduce remuneration other than that in the collective work agreement, provided that the remuneration is tied to labor production.

29. 3. As the basis for calculating additional remuneration for work on additional days off, as introduced in the

regulations issued by the Council of Ministers on the basis of the Labor Code, the plant remuneration system may adopt remuneration lower than that specified in the regulations setting remuneration for days off, but not lower than the remuneration mentioned in Article 241, Paragraph 5 of the Labor Code.

#### Chapter 4. Temporary and Final Regulations

Article 30. After coming to an agreement with the appropriate nationwide union organizations, the Council of Ministers through an ordinance may adapt regulations of the law concerning plant remuneration systems, discussed in Chapter 2, to the nature and specific characteristics of enterprises in the of mining, power, gas production, and public utilities industries.

Article 31. Regulations of the law concerning plant remuneration systems, mentioned in Chapter 2, do not apply in places of employment which have entered into a plant collective contract, as of the day the contract goes into effect, or to places of employment mentioned in Article 1, Paragraph 4, as of the day the collective work agreement including those places of employment goes into effect.

Article 32. After the day the collective work agreement goes into effect, changes in the plant remuneration system introduced before that date are made through the plant joint contract, with the provision of Article 33.

Article 33. A state enterprise whose bodies, in keeping with the regulations of Article 241, Article 2, Point 1 of the Labor Code, have not approved a collective work agreement, may introduce a plant remuneration system by way of an understanding according to the principles set down in Chapter 2.

#### Debate Regarding State Farm Land, Taxes Continues

26000188a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
17 Oct 88 p 4

[Article by Prof Dr Marian Blazejczyk, lawyer, engineer, head of the Team for Rural Areas Regulations and Agricultural Law at the Institute of State and Law, Polish Academy of Sciences: "State Farm Land"; text was submitted by the author to PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI; the editors informed the author that the polemical contribution could not be published, hence, the space in TRYBUNA LUDU was made available; the article is published without changes and in full, which is not to say the author's opinion is identical with the views of the editors]

[Text] Socially significant publications devoted to the issues of rural areas and agriculture which concern public opinion appear in the Catholic press with increasing frequency. The article by L. Bojko "The Agrarian Reform According to Me," published in PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI (No 30, 1988), with undoubtedly interesting considerations and noteworthy concepts outlined, is one of them.



However, two paramount issues involving the forms of state agricultural land utilization by state farms and the financial aspects of such utilization are treated in the article too briefly, and, therefore, too superficially to allow us to see and understand the arguments in which very important conclusions in the matter are rooted. With a view to encouraging the author to dwell further on these extremely important issues in the process of reforming the state farms, ossified in their original stalinist mold, I would like to point out questions which come up in light of the reform postulates he advances.

The article states that, in light of changes in the management of land resources of the State Land Fund proposed by the author, "state farms would operate on the principle of leasing the land, they would make payments (...) for leasing the land, pay land taxes and, possibly, land rent." This conceptually original idea brings up the question to which no answer is found in the article—why exactly does the author want to replace the current legal form of land utilization by the state farms, such as administration (placement under control), with leasing (renting). While unaware of social prerequisites and economic reasons for the proposed change, I would like to bring up arguments against such a solution.

The form of administration used at present with regard to the state farms puts them in conditions more favorable for autonomous economic operations compared to leasing, and even to the utilization of land (used with regard to the agricultural producer cooperatives). Furthermore, the change of this form to leasing would block the path toward the individualization of state farm production—to my mind, inescapable—which is being introduced in the USSR.

After all, our "sovkhozes" would not be able to lease out their land to their workers for many years while they themselves lease it. As it were, in the legal tradition which goes back centuries, leasing has involved an agreement between the owner renting out the land and the lease holder who takes possession of it. The current form of administration approximates ownership very closely; therefore, our legislation could be adapted to such leasing of state lands, making the situation of a land owner equal to that of a state farm having possession of it through administering it. Therefore, the state farms will be able to individualize their production by leasing the land to their workers, like the Soviet sovkhozes. In turn, as the hypothetical lessors of the land, they would only be able to eventually sublease it with the consent of the owner (i.e., the state), which would not provide a stable basis for continuous individual operations on the land.

It may be that the author had in mind introducing payments for the land now used by the state farms free of charge. This, however, does not call for changing administration into the naturally nongratuious leasing. After all, the current form of state land utilization by the state farms, or administration, may be nongratuious as well, as is the

case in the USSR where, effective 1 January, free utilization of nationalized land was definitively discontinued, and the sovkhozes now pay rent for the land they use.

The other issue involves the proposed tax which, in the author's opinion, the state farms should pay. This suggestion disqualifies the agricultural tax on land as envisaged by article 3, paragraph 1 of the law on agricultural tax dated 15 November 1984, which the state farms have been paying for 4 years—incidentally, the only equalized financial levy in our agriculture imposed on all agricultural sectors along the same guidelines. It is difficult to guess what such a change is supposed to accomplish, since it is unknown how the current "agricultural tax on land" is to be different from the proposed "land tax."

Still greater questions arise from the suggestion to exempt the state farms from the second tax they currently pay, or the profit tax as envisaged by article 3, paragraph 2 of the aforementioned law, and which would apply only to individual farms (cooperatives).

After all, the author writes in the already quoted proposal that the state farms, along with "payment (...) for the lease of land," would also pay "the land tax and eventually the land rent." Thus, the profit tax is conspicuously omitted. In all of that, it is not known how the "eventual" payment of land rent may be accepted along with the land tax, since this very "land tax" (currently termed agricultural tax on land) is a form of collecting such "land rent" by the state.

Many arguments can be made not only against the proposed exemption of the state farms from the mandatory profit tax, but even to justify an increase in this financial levy to the rates paid by individual farmers. After all, with regard to the first tax levied on the land, the state farms have been equated with the individual peasant farms under the influence of unfavorable public opinion (of which the author of these words was by no means a passive observer). With regard to the profit tax, however, a strikingly privileged position has been created for them, belying the officially proclaimed and codified principle of equal treatment for [all] agricultural sectors.

#### **Solco-Basel SA Director on Production Goals, Entering Polish Market**

26000184 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish  
7 Oct 88 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Dr Piotr J. Buechner, director general, Warsaw branch of the Swiss pharmaceutical firm Solco-Basel SA, by Ewa Dux: "Everyone Has His Weakness;" date and place of interview not given]

[Text]

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] The firm you represent has decided to build its own pharmaceutical plant in Warsaw. Why?

[Dr Buechner] Already in the late 1970's we decided to enter energetically the markets of socialist countries. We resolved that the simplest way would be to activate local production. This is also the most advantageous way, because we can thus sell our products not only where they are manufactured but also in both neighboring and more distant countries. In taking this into consideration we also thought of Hungary.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] The Hungarians have a fairly strong pharmaceutical industry of their own. Thus over there foreign capital would have to reckon on competition.

[Dr Buechner] This consideration, too, prevailed, and we abandoned the idea although the Hungarian authorities were very interested in introducing Solco products on their market. These and other considerations, but primarily the ongoing favorable changes in Polish regulations convinced our Supervising Council that the pharmaceutical plant should be built precisely in Warsaw.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] It will be completed in a year and half. What will you be producing?

[Dr Buechner] Principally "Solcoseryl," a medicine for, among other things, burns, as well as a number of other specifics such as we are currently producing in our plants in Switzerland. I am often asked why we do not intend to manufacture in Poland, e.g., cardiac, cancer, or remutological drugs, that is, the medicines that are most scarce and in greatest demand among patients and physicians. The answer is simple: we are not their manufacturers, and as for other Western pharmaceutical companies, they still are not building their own plants in Poland. It so happened that we are the only ones to take the risk. Producing medicines for even such a capacious market as the Polish one has always been and is a more risky project than, say, manufacturing garments or even medical equipment. The reason is that this requires prior substantial outlays and the activation of facilities on credit, so to speak, and the payoff period is not short. Besides, I need hardly explain that in this particular case no mistakes can be afforded, both when building the plant and when starting production.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Thus the initiative of Solco is a courageous one. I can hardly be wrong in saying that everyone is watching it attentively.

[Dr Buechner] There is no doubt that our activities attract the interest of everyone concerned. Besides, in life it always happens that someone has to be the first to blaze the trail so that others may securely follow it. And the trail is far from easy. Please consider that we cannot count on being given any priorities.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But you have one important plus—foreign exchange.

[Dr Buechner] Which is a minus as well. After all, we cannot build a plant in Poland with materials imported

from Switzerland or from the FRG. For then the cost of this project would be so high as to be unprofitable to anyone. For then we would have to pay duties and the cost of transportation for every imported structural element, for every brick or sack of cement.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Well then, how are you coping with supplies?

[Dr Buechner] We buy Polish building materials with funds from an account for exchanging foreign exchange into zlotys. In one way or another the state suppliers thus are paid in hard currencies. It is only certain structural steel elements that we acquire abroad through the mediation of Polish foreign trade agencies, which we pay in "live" dollars.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Do you think that the example of Solco will be followed by other foreign pharmaceutical companies?

[Dr Buechner] I am certain of it. I discussed this subject with representatives of West German, United States, and Swiss firms. It may be worth noting that the presence of these firms in Poland has a fairly long tradition. Before the war Bayer, Hoffman La Roche, and Ciba used to operate here. I see no obstacles to their return to an "old" market. The more so because such an undertaking is profitable to all. Assistance from renowned Western pharmaceutical companies can only improve the supply of pharmaceuticals in Poland.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] You are a successful man, a Pole who has achieved success in the West....

[Dr Buechner] I don't know many people who speak thus of themselves—most often it is the others who thus judge them. I think that to everyone the greatest success happens when he does the work which is his ruling passion. Contrary to appearances, this is not simple at all. When we look around—even at our closest friends, relatives, or acquaintances—we are astonished to find that only a very few are doing what they really like doing. I had luck. To me my work is my entire—well, almost entire—life. This exactly is what I consider my greatest success.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] It is my understanding that you are sharing that success with others by, e.g., donating paintings to museums, drugs and equipment to hospitals, and candy and fruits to sick children.

[Dr Buechner] I do it because I believe that one should share one's success with others. This is a kind of contribution to happiness, in return for the material advantages derived from a fascinating job. Throughout the world, whenever there is an economic crisis, it is the funds for medicine and culture that are most scarce. Thus I try to help as much as I can by importing medicines and medical equipment or sponsoring trips of [Polish] physicians to scientific symposia.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] How did you get interested in ballooning? After all, it was you who were the financial sponsor of the participation of our balloonists in the Gordon Bennett Trophy Contest 3 years ago.

[Dr Buechner] Ultimately this concerned not some gigantic sum, and that several thousand dollars made possible the trip of our team and thus also their winning the second place. Besides, I have been of help later too. I bought a modern radar set and a VCR for training purposes. As a result, I have become an honorary member of the Polish Aeroclub—which I prize greatly, just as I prize the decoration "Contributor to Polish Culture." But that is a completely private activity; I simply happen to like ballooning very much, and I like to give presents. Everyone has his own weakness. This is mine.

**ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE Briefs Columns**  
26000152 Warsaw *ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE* in Polish  
Nos 41-44, 9-30 Oct 88

[Reports: "Last Week"]

[No 41, 9 Oct 88 p 2]

[Excerpts]

#### In Poland

[Passage omitted] A model of the trade union movement shall not, said Alfred Miodowicz at an OPZZ [National Trade Union Alliance] session, be constructed at the Roundtable [supposed coming talks between the opposition and the regime]. "It is we unionists and our plant chapters and federations that shall ourselves decide on the needed changes. It is difficult to conceive in this connection of the activities of more than one trade union organization at the same factory in the near future, and the decisive argument here is the security and stability of the factory. Otherwise the firms might be ruined and competing trade unions entangled in rivalry and political struggle at the expense of workforce interests would simply decline in membership. Hence, the position taken by the OPZZ Council on 6 September, as expressed in the formula 'One Factory—One Trade Union,' is still actual."

The heads of the Planning Commission discussed the status of the work on the plan for consolidating the national economy. Following a session of the Commission for Economic policy, Economic Reform, and Worker Self-Government under the Central Committee, a uniform document was worked out: "Assumptions of the Plan for Consolidating the National Economy." It points to the need to bring about fundamental changes in economic policy. The consolidation plan should in this connection define all the aspects of the turnaround in that policy and outline the main lines of action during the 1989-90 period, superseding the currently binding National Socioeconomic Plan. [passage omitted]

On 30 September was held a session of the Committee for Implementing the Economic Reform under the Council of Ministers. The session was chaired by Zdzisław Sadowski. The Committee familiarized itself with the new version of the proposal for demonopolizing procurements of and trade in farm products and foodstuffs, drafted by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Industry. The Committee also took a position on the proposed changes in banking law.

Jerzy Ozdowski, during a meeting with representatives of cooperative unions, declared his intention to establish an independent cooperative school in Rzeszow. Its purpose would be to train managerial personnel for cooperatives, which currently associate 10 million persons. The Rzeszow Vice Voivode Jerzy Szeremeta commented that the voivodship authorities will be willing to provide assistance in establishing such a school. It would be located in Zalesie at the outskirts of Rzeszow. As to whether the school will arise or not, that will be decided by the Sejm. A deputy's proposal on this matter is to be submitted in a year.

A total of 611 exhibitors, including 131 foreign ones from 17 countries, took part in the opening of the "Polagra 88" Fourth International Agroindustrial Trade Fair in Poznan, which is accompanied by the National Horticultural Exhibition also taking place on the grounds of the Poznan International Trade Fair. [passage omitted]

#### Abroad

At the invitation of Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian CP and Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria Todor Zhivkov, a friendly working visit was paid to Bulgaria by First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic Wojciech Jaruzelski. International issues, the situation of both countries and parties, and economic affairs were discussed. Last year the record sum of 1 billion rubles was achieved in reciprocal trade. But possibilities exist for developing economic cooperation still further. A new impetus to Polish-Bulgarian cooperation will be provided by the "Concept of Developing Economic and R&D Cooperation Between the PPR and the PRB Until the Year 2005." [passage omitted]

The foreign trade deficit of the USSR for the first 6 months of the year amounted to 1.82 billion rubles (US\$2.9 billion) according to 'VNESHNAYA TORGOVLYA.' Last year the USSR balance of trade for a like period was US\$1.5 billion and toward year end it reached a surplus of US\$495 million. Soviet imports during the January-June 1988 period increased by US\$2.1 billion compared with a like period last year and amounted to US\$13.9 billion. As for exports, they increased to US\$11 billion from US\$10.2 billion.



A trade and cooperation agreement was signed between the European Community and Hungary. It provides for the abolition by the EEC in three stages—by the end of 1995 at the latest—of quantitative restrictions on imports of Hungarian goods. Hungary pledged itself to facilitate access of EEC companies to its markets. Both parties accorded one another the "Most Privileged" status. As EEC experts emphasize, among CEMA countries Hungary's economic structure is the closest to that of West Europe. Last year the EEC exported to Hungary goods worth US\$2.6 billion and imported from Hungary US\$2.2 billion.

The EEC has approved Cuba's proposal of last June to establish diplomatic relations and exchange ambassadors. Cuba is the seventh of the 10 CEMA countries and the first non-European one to establish diplomatic relations with the EEC. A proposal to establish such relations was also offered by Vietnam. Of the CEMA countries only Romania and Mongolia have not so far expressed interest in establishing diplomatic relations with the "Twelve."

Representatives of the National Bank and the government of the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia signed in New York an agreement with the International Coordinating Committee (ICC) of creditor banks about restructuring Yugoslavia's medium and short-term debt. The ICC represents about 450 Western commercial banks to which Yugoslavia owes US\$6.5 billion payable by 1992. Under the agreement this debt became restructured into a longterm loan payable over 18 years with 6-year waiting period and an interest rate that is 13/16 of a point higher than Libor [as published]. As emphasized by the Governor of the National Bank Dushan Vlatkovic, the signing of this agreement reflects support for Yugoslavia's efforts to implement a program for economic stabilization and demonstrates the faith of foreign lenders in the ability of the SFRY to meet its obligations. Yugoslavia is one of the few debtors among the countries with a medium degree of development to have succeeded in reducing its foreign debt to US\$19 billion from US\$21 billion within a few years.

Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Jirzi Niemec announced a government draft of a decree "on Czechoslovak enterprises with capital participation by foreign companies." The objective of the decree is to create the conditions for the formation of joint ventures and provide legal safeguards for foreign participants.

[No 42, 16 Oct 88 p 2]

[Excerpts]

#### In Poland

General Florian Siwicki, speaking at a gala commemoration of the 45th anniversary of the People's Polish Army, declared, "We consider it our civic duty to

support the proreform social coalition and solutions which, while consonant with the Constitution, make it possible for all constructive social forces to build a modern state."

Prime Minister M. F. Rakowski met with representatives of workforce self-governments who appealed to him for preventing hasty and ill-conceived changes in the fundamental reform decrees. [passage omitted]

"It appears that the saturation of state enterprises with political aspects has reached a critical point. This happened during the period of excessive centralization of economic management. Nowadays, following the painful lesson of the crisis, we are aware that an enterprise must remain an economics-oriented institution and follow chiefly the criterion of rationality of outlays and effects." Quoted from the interview granted by Professor K. Doktor to ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

The list of 12 unionists scheduled to participate in the "Round Table" includes four representatives of federations, five representatives of plant trade union organizations, and three OPZZ representatives. In addition a list of 10 names of advisers has been approved. It was determined that, depending on how the situation unfolds, both lists may be either reduced or augmented.

The communique published following the 230th Plenary Conference of the Episcopate of Poland declares, "The Bishops voiced their conviction that worker rights, and especially the rights of blue-collar workers and farmers, to belong by choice to the trade unions appropriate to them, will be safeguarded. The agreement on the fundamental values should be a foundation for a fundamental reform of the state, its structures, and the economy. This will initiate a consolidation of the society and contribute to strengthening Poland's standing in the international arena. The church will favor initiatives serving the common good."

The Constitutional Tribunal (consisting of Chief Justice Natalia Gajl, Justice-Rapporteur Andrzej Kabat, and Henryk Groszyk) ruled against the executive orders of the minister of finance and the chairman of the National Bank of Poland that had been questioned by INTERPOLCOM. This concerned the following questions: Is a foreign enterprise or an enterprise with foreign participation free to dispose as it sees fit of the foreign exchange it can retain from exports after selling to the state budget the required 50 percent? In such a situation, what does the term "dispose" mean, considering that handling foreign exchange is complicated by numerous restrictions imposed by implementing regulations rather than by legislation?

The POL-ECO Polish-Polonia Biological Foundation, the first of its kind in a socialist country, has been established. Its principal purpose is to explore practical

solutions to ecological problems crucial to Poland, but also on the scale of Europe and the World, as based on the united effort of the international community.

#### Abroad

[Passage omitted] Hungary is particularly interested in reforms within the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance, declared last Tuesday the Deputy Director of the Institute of the World Economy under the Academy of Sciences of the Hungarian People's Republic Kalman Pecci, at the opening of an international conference on the theory and practice of problems of radically reforming CEMA. The conference is being attended by delegations from all the socialist countries with the exception of Romania and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Yugoslavia sent observers. The World Bank is represented. Economists and financial experts from 12 Western countries also have arrived.

Government institutions and ministries, military organizations, and state and cooperative enterprises in China were enjoined against acquiring certain costly manufactured consumer goods. This decision is yet another step intended to reduce the level of consumption. Recently the government has been announcing many decisions on this matter. For example, national and local agencies were ordered not to require their employees to wear uniforms manufactured at the state's expense. Henceforth, imported wines and other costly beverages as well as cigarettes may no longer be served at official banquets, receptions, and other festivities.

The retail prices of sugar and coffee were raised in Bulgaria, by 50 percent for sugar and by 100 percent for coffee.

The Federal Statistical Administration of Yugoslavia announced that the annual inflation rate reached 217 percent in September. Inflation in August was 15.4 percent. Since last December prices rose by 129.5 percent. [passage omitted]

[No 43, 23 Oct 88 p 2]

[Excerpts]

#### In Poland

The Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee examined the assumptions of the Plan for Consolidating the National Economy in the Years 1989-90. It adopted the substantive-organizational assumptions of the 10th Central Committee Plenum. [passage omitted]

The Polonia Economic Forum, attended by Prime Minister M. F. Rakowski, took place in Poznan. "Invest, be enterprising, make profits for yourself and for the country," declared M. F. Rakowski.

"The pupil should not feel bad at school; he should be neither intimidated nor treated as a subordinate, as for example when he is 'summoned' to answer. He must be aware that the school and all it contains belongs to him and is supposed to serve him," said Jozef Winiarski, a teacher from Nowa Huta, on receiving an award on the occasion of the Day of National Education.

A pioneering work of the Legislative Council is the so-called General Provisions of the Administrative Law—the first ever attempt to codify this important domain of law. A task force of the Council has drawn up an auctorial draft of a new decree on the Supreme Administrative Court, which was evaluated very highly. The Council also has prepared a report on the status and desirable directions of financial law. And now the Council has started to draw up its opinion on the draft decree on physicians' self-government and on the assumptions of the penal law reform now being prepared.

More than 130 federations belong to the International Organization of Consumer Unions. Until recently similar movements in the socialist countries had remained outside its scope, for it was only in a few of these countries that they acquired the form of organizations with their own structures, operating on their own or under the patronage of government agencies. The meeting in Warsaw was attended by delegations from the People's Republic of China, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Cuba, Hungary, the USSR, and Poland.

A conference attended by representatives of the academic community and economic and local administration was held to evaluate technical expertises concerning the possibility and expediency of utilizing the facilities of the Stefanow Mine to develop a coal deposit by another Lublin mine, Bogdanka. One such expertise was requested of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] by the ex-minister of industry. Summing up the discussion, Jozef Zajchowski acknowledged that, as presented in the expertises, the cost-effectiveness accounting of investments in the Stefanow and Bogdanka mines should be verified by the PAN from the standpoint of, among other things, practical cost of coal extraction, outlays on social and communal infrastructure, and the consequences to farming in the Lublin region.

#### Abroad

[Passage omitted] At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Politburo Member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Wladyslaw Baka sojourned in Hungary. He was received by Secretary General of the HSWP Central Committee Karoly Grosz. They discussed economic reforms in their countries and further related intentions against the background of the ongoing democratization of sociopolitical life. Aspects of international cooperation also were discussed.

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a working visit to the Soviet Union was paid by Politburo Member and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party Marian Orzechowski. He met with, among others, Politburo Member and CPSU Central Committee Secretary Vadim Medvedev. Views on aspects of perestroika in the Soviet Union and renewal in Poland were exchanged, as were views on the development of Polish-Soviet cooperation in ideology and science.

At the invitation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, Politburo Member and OPZZ [National Trade Union Alliance] Chairman Alfred Miodowicz sojourned in the Soviet Union on 9 and 10 October. During a meeting with AUCCTU Chairman Stepan Shalayev he discussed aspects of further development and expansion of bilateral cooperation between Soviet and Polish trade unions and certain problems of the international trade union movement. In addition, they exchanged information on the current activities of Polish and Soviet trade unions and the new tasks they face at the present stage of sociopolitical development. [passage omitted]

In Moscow the 2-day 129th meeting of the CEMA Executive Committee came to an end. Problems of implementing resolutions of the 43rd (Special) and 44th CEMA Sessions concerning the restructuring of the mechanisms of multilateral cooperation of CEMA countries and socialist economic integration were considered. During the meeting, development prospects for the cooperation of CEMA countries until the year 2000 and possible ways of strengthening the social orientation of that cooperation in the interest of an improved satisfaction of the needs of the population of the Community's countries also were discussed. Further, the Executive Committee considered problems of improving and streamlining the efficacy of the instruments for clearing and crediting accounts in transfer rubles.

Lubomir Strougal has resigned from the post of deputy prime minister of the federal government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. He was replaced by Ladislav Adamec.

Representatives of the Soviet machinery industry and the British company Lada Cars signed in London an agreement for the deliveries of 44,000 Zhiguli cars in 1989; these cars are being sold in a modernized version, under the name Lada, on the British market. Lada Cars is one of the largest importers of Soviet cars in the capitalist countries. In Great Britain and Ireland, where it maintains branches, it operates 40 Lada dealerships and service centers.

One of the largest industrial plants in the Soviet Transcaucasus, the Tsentrolit Castings Plant in the Georgian city of Rustavi, has declared bankruptcy. It has accumulated unpaid loans totaling 8 million rubles and it lacks

the funds to buy supplies and pay wages to its employees. A major reason for the financial collapse of this plant is the fact that there is no demand for its principal products, namely, iron castings, which are a glut on the market.

PRC Minister of Economic Relations and Foreign Trade Zheng Tuobin declared that, despite the positive balance of foreign trade recorded during the first 9 months of this year, his ministry is continuing to reform the organization and structure of trade with foreign partners. Satisfactory import and export results were achieved so far this year: higher by 14.8 and 24.6 percent, respectively, that is, by US\$28.5 and 32.9 billion, respectively, than in a like period last year. The plans for the near future include, among other things, limiting the exports of the raw materials and goods that are in great demand domestically, while at the same time broadening the range of finished products for sale. Such will be the profile of Chinese foreign trade in 1989. Minister Zheng Tuobin emphasized that certain enterprises are increasing their exports of certain goods in an uncontrolled manner without allowing for the needs of the domestic market.

Year after year, the number of private manufacturing and service establishments in China is growing. Employment in the private sector totals 22.24 million and the value of the capital registered in the private sector totals 27.12 billion yuan (1 US\$ = 3.71 yuan). According to figures for the end of June the number of private enterprises has increased by 2.98 percent compared with the end of 1987, and their employment by 3.06 percent. These increases are much smaller than in the previous years. In the opinion of Chinese economists this is due to the improved operation of the mechanism of competition, the application of tax and credit policies, etc. Of the 3.13 million private firms which had commenced operation in 1987 as many as 1.5 million went bankrupt as they could not stand up to competition.

A representative of the National Planning Office in Hungary has notified the National Consumers Council that during this year so far consumption has declined by 2.3-3 percent and by year end it will probably decline still further. In the interest of balancing the economy the population has accepted a major burden. Thanks to this, the performance of trade with the capitalist countries is even better than planned. The growth rate of indebtedness and the budget deficit have tangibly declined. [passage omitted]

More than one-third of the electrical energy generated in EEC countries derives from nuclear power stations. During the first half of 1988 the aggregate power generation of all nuclear power stations in the countries of the "Twelve" amounted to 267 billion kwh, i.e., 4 percent more than in the first half of 1987. By the same token, the share of nuclear power generation has increased to 34 from 32 percent. Major differences among individual countries of the "Twelve" persist. These countries are



headed in this domain by France, where as much as 70 percent of all power output derives from nuclear power stations. Next in line is Belgium (62 percent), which is followed after a considerable interval by Spain (37 percent) and the FRG (33 percent). Great Britain (18 percent) and Holland (barely 5 percent) are much below the average.

The EEC will most likely achieve this year a budget surplus of about 1 billion ecus (US\$1.1 billion) owing to an unexpected increase in revenues from, among other things, customs duties, this being related to a general economic revival. It is also to be expected that the EEC will save another billion ecus owing to higher world prices for grain and oleaginous seeds, which has made it possible to curtail subsidies for EEC agriculture. Last year the Community recorded a budget deficit of US\$4.4 billion which had to be offset from additional member country dues. This year the EEC budget amounts to 43.8 billion ecus (US\$48.4 billion), of which 27.7 billion ecu (US\$31.3 billion) goes for outlays on agriculture. Next year's budget, not yet confirmed, is to be increased to 46 billion ecus (US\$51 billion).

[No 44, 30 Oct 88 p 2]

[Excerpts]

#### In Poland

[Passage omitted] The Council of Ministers has waived regulations governing the remuneration paid for so-called commissioned work assigned by socialized work establishments on the basis of contracts or commissions. The wording of such contracts and agreements and the remuneration paid will henceforth be determined directly by the grantor and the grantee. As of 1 January 1989 restrictions on the contracting, procurements, and production of basic farm products and foodstuffs will be abolished. State, cooperative, and private enterprises will receive equal treatment as regards supplying the market with meat and processed meat products as well as with grain and flour products. It was resolved to transmit for public debate the draft decree on associations.

The Economic Advisory Council declared in its position paper on the [1989-90 Socioeconomic] Consolidation Plan, "A thorough reappraisal of the economic policy so far is needed, as is an unambiguous selection of objectives and the precise identification of the interests to be protected and the means whereby this is to be accomplished."

Under the chairmanship of M. F. Rakowski was held a meeting dealing with the current prices-incomes situation. Participating were: Wladyslaw Baka, Bogdan Krolowski, Jerzy Gruchalski, and interested members of the government headed by Deputy Prime Minister Ireneusz Sekula. [passage omitted]

The tax system is not favorable to the economic reform. It impedes entrepreneurialism. Its practical operation and the conclusions to be inferred for the future were discussed by the Socioeconomic Council. A report is published elsewhere in this issue. [passage omitted]

The Catholic University of Lublin is celebrating its 70th anniversary. The University's five departments have an enrollment of about 4,500 and its faculty numbers more than 400. A new University building, the John Paul II Collegium, is being erected.

In Polish agriculture as of this October the cattle population totals 10.3 million head, of which 4.8 million cows. Compared with the June census, the cow population declined by 60,800 head. A seasonal increase in the hog population by about 1 million head took place, thus raising that population to more than 21.2 million head.

The Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers at its session of 20 October accepted the "Assumptions for Demonopolizing the Procurements of Farm Produce and Foodstuffs," drafted by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Industry," along with drafts of appropriate legislation. This means that as of 1 January 1989 the traditional restrictions on the contracting, procurements, and production of basic farm products and foodstuffs will be abolished. Equal treatment will be accorded to state, cooperative, and private enterprises supplying the market with meat and processed products (also rationed ones) as well as with grain and flour products.

The OPZZ Council stated in its position paper on the model of the trade union movement that only one trade union should operate at any one factory, and that the nature, program, and leadership of that union can be determined only by its members themselves at the factory.

Anticipated farm income this year will be 537,500 zlotys per employee in private farming and 636,000 zlotys per employee in socialized farming. This was stated at a session of the Main Board of farmer organizations. This disparity in incomes of farmers is compounded by the continuing increase in prices of producer goods, investment goods, and the cost of living for farmer families. This is a major peril to the growth of farming and hence also it is leading to a decline in farm output, as has already become noticed this year.

#### Abroad

[Passage omitted] The management of Deutsche Bank, the largest West German private bank, has announced its official initialing of a document whereby a consortium of West German banks headed by Deutsche Bank will grant to the Soviet Union credit totaling 3 billion marks. Its official declaration confirms previous reports that the

new credit line is intended chiefly to promote the growth of the Soviet consumer goods industry along with the light, textile, and confectionery industries.

This year the grain harvest in Czechoslovakia averaged 47 centners per hectare. Only in 1984 was this harvest somewhat higher—48 centners per hectare, and the aggregate harvest then totaled 11.9 million tons. This year, according to preliminary figures, the harvest, including corn, will reach 11.8 million tons, or about 3 percent more than planned.

In China during the January-September 1988 period the value of industrial output increased by 17.5 percent compared with a like period in 1987, and in September alone this increase reached as much as 20.2 percent. The output of fuel, energy, steel, and other raw materials still lags behind the economy's demand, however, and so do transportation and communications. An excessive increase in the consumption fund was recorded. Wages increased by 20 percent and bonuses by 46.6 percent. The purchasing power of institutions and factories

increased by an additional 21.3 percent. The cost of living increased by 18.3 percent in major cities, and the value of retail sales by 16 percent. A considerable excess of demand over supply still continues to be observed, and so do market pressures. Average urban monthly income is at the level of 87 yuan, i.e., 18 percent more than last year. But when allowance is made for the price increases, the actual increase in that income has been barely 0.5 percent. A substantial number of workers declare that their living standards have declined. The increases in retail prices during the January-September 1988 period averaged 16 percent compared with a like period last year.

The European Economic Community and Czechoslovakia concluded an agreement for mutual trade in industrial products. In an interview with Reuters, a representative of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Trade declared that the agreement was initialed in Brussels and will be signed in the Prague toward the end of this year. [passage omitted]

This is a U.S. Government publication. Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government. Users of this publication may cite FBIS or JPRS provided they do so in a manner clearly identifying them as the secondary source.

Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) and Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) publications contain political, economic, military, and sociological news, commentary, and other information, as well as scientific and technical data and reports. All information has been obtained from foreign radio and television broadcasts, news agency transmissions, newspapers, books, and periodicals. Items generally are processed from the first or best available source; it should not be inferred that they have been disseminated only in the medium, in the language, or to the area indicated. Items from foreign language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed, with personal and place names rendered in accordance with FBIS transliteration style.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [ ] are supplied by FBIS/JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpts] in the first line of each item indicate how the information was processed from the original. Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear from the original source but have been supplied as appropriate to the context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by the source. Passages in boldface or italics are as published.

#### SUBSCRIPTION/PROCUREMENT INFORMATION

The FBIS DAILY REPORT contains current news and information and is published Monday through Friday in eight volumes: China, East Europe, Soviet Union, East Asia, Near East & South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and West Europe. Supplements to the DAILY REPORTs may also be available periodically and will be distributed to regular DAILY REPORT subscribers. JPRS publications, which include approximately 50 regional, worldwide, and topical reports, generally contain less time-sensitive information and are published periodically.

Current DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are listed in *Government Reports Announcements* issued semimonthly by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22161 and the *Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications* issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The public may subscribe to either hardcover or microfiche versions of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications through NTIS at the above address or by calling (703) 487-4630. Subscription rates will be

provided by NTIS upon request. Subscriptions are available outside the United States from NTIS or appointed foreign dealers. New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.

U.S. Government offices may obtain subscriptions to the DAILY REPORTs or JPRS publications (hardcover or microfiche) at no charge through their sponsoring organizations. For additional information or assistance, call FBIS, (202) 338-6735, or write to P.O. Box 2604, Washington, D.C. 20013. Department of Defense consumers are required to submit requests through appropriate command validation channels to DIA, RTS-2C, Washington, D.C. 20301. (Telephone: (202) 373-3771, Autovon: 243-3771.)

Back issues or single copies of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are not available. Both the DAILY REPORTs and the JPRS publications are on file for public reference at the Library of Congress and at many Federal Depository Libraries. Reference copies may also be seen at many public and university libraries throughout the United States.



**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

14 Feb 89